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CATHOLIC LITERARY NEW YORK, 1800–1840

In the first volume of the *Memoir, Letters and Journals of Elizabeth Seton*, compiled by her grandson, Archbishop Robert Seton, there is a letter Mrs. Seton wrote from New York, in January, 1805, to her dear friend Amabilia Filicchi in Italy. "I have tried so many ways," she tells the Signora Filicchi, "to see Dr. O'Brien, who they say is the only Catholic priest in New York, where they say, too, Catholics are the offscouring of the people; indeed, somebody even said their congregation was a 'public nuisance'; but that troubles me not. The congregation of a city may be very shabby, yet very pleasing to God" (p. 210).

From her own social standing, what Mrs. Seton says in this letter may be taken as the reflection of the opinion in which the "genteel people" of New York then held their Catholic fellow-citizens. Although, in the rôle of a Knickerbocker Pepys, Philip Hone babbles about every possible local happening for half a century the pages of his famous *Diary* will be searched in vain for mention of a Catholic event or personage.

Not long after the date of Mrs. Seton's letter quoted above, Father Anthony Kohlmann, who had been sent to New York by Bishop Carroll to bring about an orderly organization of the new diocese, recorded, on November 8, 1808, that "the congregation chiefly consists of Irish, some hundreds of French and as many Germans, in all according to common estimation of 14,000 souls."[1] As a whole, it is true, they did not make a social figure of much distinction. Most of them were poor. But in proportion to their numerical and material standing they are very respectably in evidence on the local literary roll of the earlier years of the first half of the nineteenth century. That the general reading public

[1] *Historical Records and Studies*, Vol. i, pp. 207.

are not better acquainted with the names of this honorable list must be ascribed to the oft-condemned Protestant tradition with its Conspiracy of Silence, and largely also to our own inexcusable neglect.

One of the very earliest bits of history of local interest is the brief but priceless story the martyr Father Isaac Jogues, S.J., wrote of his visit to the Island of Manhattan in September, 1643.

Mathew Carey presided at the first convention of the publishers of the United States, which was held at the old City Hotel, on Broadway, in 1802, and in addressing them recommended "renewed meetings of a like nature as the most effective means for the promotion and diffusion of knowledge." Of course he lived in Philadelphia, but he was a Catholic, one of the leading publishers and publicists of the era, and the meeting was held in New York.

A year before this there arrived in New York from Ireland Thomas O'Connor, a son of Charles O'Connor of Mount Allen, County Roscommon, whose father was the famous antiquarian of the same name. Thomas O'Connor at first went up to Steuben County in a land-colonizing scheme with William Kernan, the founder of the Catholic family prominent for more than a century in central New York. This venture not proving successful, he returned to New York City. His son, the great jurist Charles O'Conor, was born in New York, January 22, 1804, and died May 12, 1884. In a letter written to Father Finotti, on February 25, 1867, from New York, he gives, for the *Bibliographia Catholica Americana* (pp. 209–210), these details about his father:

> My father emigrated in 1801, and died in this city in 1855 at the age of eighty-five. I think he never aspired to the character of an author. He first resorted to his pen as a means of earning a scanty subsistence for his family. This must have been about the year 1811. He was connected with the press at intervals thenceforward until he reached a very advanced age.
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> War was declared against Great Britain, June 18, 1812. Samuel Woodworth, a printer, but subsequently well known as a poet, novelist and Swedenborgian preacher, at once commenced a weekly newspaper called the *War*. My father was its editor for two or three months. His connection with that paper then ceased; and in conjunction with Stephen Wall, a countryman of his, he edited for a couple of years, beginning September, 1812, a weekly paper called the *Military Monitor*. Sub-

quently he edited for two or three years, commencing in 1815, a weekly called the *Shamrock*. In January, 1819, he commenced the publication of a monthly magazine called the *Globe*. Its proprietors avowed no particular views, but its contents indicate that it was the *Shamrock* in a new form. Ireland and Catholicity were its leading topics. It lasted about a year. In May, 1824, I was admitted to the bar, and from that time my father had no business connection with the press, nor any resort to literature except to gratify some emotion of his heart. . . He was brought up by his grandfather, "the Irish antiquarian." . . . He was a devoted Catholic, an enthusiastically patriotic Irishman, and as a necessary consequence was averse to the government of Britain and deeply attached to the republican institutions of his adopted country. These characteristics exhibit themselves in all his literary efforts. Whether employed in procuring bread for his family, or in the freely chosen pursuits of early leisure, his pen was always under the influence of these sentiments. It was ever directed in vindicating the fame of Ireland, the honor of our United American States, or the truth and purity of his cherished Mother, the Apostolic Church.

There is a slight mistake in this in regard to the *Shamrock*. The first issue of that paper was dated December 10, 1810, and it lasted until August 17, 1817. The honor of being the pioneer in Catholic American journalism is usually awarded to the famous Sulpician missionary, Father Gabriel Richard, under whose inspiration the *Michigan Essay or Impartial Observer* began its brief career in Detroit on August 31, 1809. The Rev. Dr. Paul J. Foik, C.S.C., in a monograph on the *Michigan Essay*, says of it, and of Father Richard:

> His religious duties and the extent of his missionary labors did not enable him to give his time to the publishing and editing of this paper. . . . We have no conclusive evidence that more than one number was issued. . . . There is nothing in the first issue to indicate that the *Essay* was to be the mouthpiece of the Catholics of Michigan. . . . The most we can claim for the *Essay* then is that it was a semi-Catholic periodical.[1]

There is much in the career of Thomas O'Connor to warrant putting him forward as our first Catholic editor and the *Shamrock*, although not explicitly so called, as our first Catholic paper. It must be remembered that Irish and Catholic interests were then practically synonymous. It was the period of the opening of the great battle for Catholic Emancipation. What Charles

[1] *University of Notre Dame Studies, Historical Series*, Vol. i, No. i.

O'Conor tells of his father's work indicates the character of the *Shamrock*, which served as a model for most of the papers of its kind that followed it.

"The writer would add," said Bishop England of Charleston, S. C., speaking of his diocese, while on a visit to Dublin in 1832, "that during upwards of ten years he and his associates have at a very serious pecuniary loss, not to mention immense labor, published a weekly paper the *United States Catholic Miscellany* in which the cause of Ireland at home and of Irishmen abroad, and of the Catholic Church through the world, has been defended to the best of their ability." The Bishop puts "the cause of Ireland" first in the reasons for the existence of his paper, the first distinctively Catholic organ started in the United States.

Catholic controversy, and the progress of the movements for Catholic Emancipation and the repeal of the Union in Ireland take up the greatest part of the space of the papers printed in the United States for Catholic readers during most of the first half of the nineteenth century. Thomas O'Connor came across the Atlantic with the other exiles after the failure of the rebellion of the United Irishmen in 1798. In the *Shamrock* he had the good-will and active help of several of them who also had located in New York, notably of the great jurist, Thomas Addis Emmet, William Sampson and the only Catholic of the group, Dr. William James Macneven. Their contributions occasionally added to the interest of his own vigorous and forceful writings. In 1817, O'Connor compiled a history of the War of 1812 which ran through four editions in two years and was regarded as a very satisfactory outline of the conflict. It was a 12mo volume of 304 pages with the title: *An Impartial and Correct History of The War between the United States of America and Great Britain. Carefully compiled from official doc's. New York: Printed and published by John Low, at Shakespeare's Head, No.* 17 *Chatham Street.*

During 1822–23 O'Connor waged a vigorous war in the *Shamrock* against the Philadelphia Hoganite schism. He published, in 1825, a second book: *The Inquisition Examined by an Impartial Reviewer*, which was printed for him by his friend, Joseph Desnoues, of 23 Provost Street. Desnoues and Dr. Macneven also were connected with an educational enterprise,

l'École Économique, founded under the auspices of General Victor Moreau and the Baron Jean Guillaume Hyde de Neuville, then exiles in New York from their native France. The school had a fashionable vogue and Moreau and De Neuville lectured there daily. It was located first on Chapel Street (now West Broadway), between Duane and Reade Streets, and later in a large building with spacious grounds on Anthony (now Worth) Street. One of General Moreau's children died in New York during this period and was buried in the graveyard of old St. Patrick's Church, Mott Street.

The Moreau school was an important local institution that enlisted the support and influence of many wealthy men and especially of the French colony, which then included a number of high-born exiles from France and the West Indies. Bishop Cheverus of Boston was interested in it. It had a printing plant which Joseph Desnoues managed and turned out the text-books used by the pupils. When General Moreau went back to France in 1813, the school was taken over by Victor Bancel, a refugee from St. Domingo, who had started a school of his own in 1801 in Harrison Street.[3] Another fashionable finishing school for young New York women was that managed by Madame L. F. Binsse. These were ancestors of well-known New York Catholics of our own time. Louis Bancel Binsse will be remembered as prominent in every Catholic movement in the second half of the last century and as the last Consul General here of the Papal States. The mother of John Lafarge, author and painter, was Louise Josephine Binsse (de St. Victor).

After Louis XVIII was restored to the throne in France, Hyde de Neuville, who had gone back to his native land with Moreau, returned to New York as Minister Plenipotentiary of France to the United States, and he was delighted to find that the École Économique they had been instrumental in founding was still exerting a beneficial local influence.

The building up of the Church in New York was mainly done by Catholics of Irish birth or blood. We who claim that affiliation, must confess that at times we are a bit clannish, and therefore, because, no doubt, of the differences of language, customs

[3] *The Old Merchants of New York*, Vol. i, pp. 337 sq.

and training, the standing of the French Colony here has been neglected in some of our published records. When Bishop Dubois was chosen for the See, in 1826, his coming, it will be remembered was resented, because he was "a foreigner," in the estimation of the people who would have rejoiced had the Rev. Dr. John Power been named by the Holy Father.

Another one of the interesting figures in the New York of this period is the ex-minister Virgil Barber, who, after the conversion of himself and family by Father Benedict Fenwick, S.J., settled here in the fall of 1816 and opened a school at No. 24 Vesey Street, now the site of the *Evening Post* building. It lasted about a year and the subsequent history of this family makes one of the most extraordinary chapters in the chronicle of the many notable conversions of the time. He and his son Samuel became Jesuit priests; his wife a Visitation nun; the youngest of their three daughters joined the same community and the other two entered an Ursuline convent. Mrs. Barber, as Sister M. Augustine, was for two generations one of the successful educators of the Visitation schools in Washington, St. Louis and Mobile. She lived until January 1, 1860.[4]

Another Irish exile who came to New York in 1803 was Bernard Dornin, who has the distinction of being the first distinctively Catholic publisher in the United States. He located at Newburgh-on-the-Hudson, but soon came back to New York where he opened a book store at No. 136 Pearl Street, and, in 1807, published New York's first Catholic book, an edition of Pastorini's *History of the Christian Church*, which was followed the next year by Fletcher's *Reflections on the Spirit of Religious Controversy*. There is extant a list of 462 subscribers for these books, which now makes an interesting record of Catholics who then had a taste for solid reading matter. In 1823 John Doyle, also from Ireland, opened his book store which was long a local landmark at No. 237 Broadway, now part of the great Woolworth Building. His publications included prayer-books, controversial works and the first New York Catholic Bible (1833). His store was near St. Peter's and also Columbia College and for years was a popular literary rendezvous.

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[4] De Goesbriand, *Catholic Memoirs of Vermont and New Hampshire*. Burlington, Vt., 1866.

In December, 1808, Father Anthony Kohlmann, S.J., as has been noted, was sent by Bishop Carroll to take charge of Catholic New York, and incidentally Catholic literary New York benefited. He founded, soon after he was fairly well settled in the city, its first Catholic College, "The New York Literary Institution," which occupied an imposing old mansion on the present site of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Fifth Avenue. Writing of it in August, 1810, Father Kohlmann said, after a public examination of the students: "Everyone thinks that if the reputation of the house is kept up it will in a short time rivalize any college in the country. . . . We have the finest set of globes in America." One of the professors in this college, the Rev. James Wallace, S.J., published in 1812, through "Smith & Forman, at the Franklin Juvenile Bookstores, 195 and 213 Greenwich Street, New York," one of the first Jesuit contributions to exact science in America, "*A New Treatise on the use of the Globes and Practical Astronomy . . . the whole serving as an introduction to the Higher Astronomy and Natural Philosophy Designed for the instruction of youth and particularly adapted to the United States.* Other contributions in this special field were made by Dr. William James Macneven (1815) *Chemical Examination of the Mineral Water of Schooley's Mountain*; (1819) *Exposition of the Atomic Theory of Chemistry.* For three years, Dr. Macneven was one of the editors of the *Medical and Philosophical Journal.*

The record of the famous Keating case, in which Father Kohlmann was cited to court for refusing to disclose the secrets of the confessional, was published, in 1813, by William Sampson, who had appeared in defense of Father Kohlmann at the hearing of the case in the Recorder's Court. He gave it the title: *The Catholic Question in America.* Father Kohlmann added an appendix: *A True Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church Touching the Sacrament of Penance with the Ground on which this Doctrine is Founded.* The case occasioned the incorporation into the statute books of the State of New York of the prohibition of any violation of confidential communications to a spiritual adviser. The example of New York was later followed by other States. Sampson was not a Catholic, but he compiled the court records of the case as an expert reporter and Father Kohlmann gave them special value by his appendix.

Matthew Field, born in England of Irish parents, arrived in New York in 1815 and started a "library" for the publication and sale of books at No. 177 Bowery, near Delancey Street. In those days all booksellers had "libraries" as a part of their business and loaned books for a fee to their customers. Field's list enumerates a number of standard Catholic works. He published *The Catholic Laity's Directory to the Church Service with an Almanac for the year* 1817, the first of the long series of such manuals.[5] He promised also a *Catholic Magazine*, but it did not materialize. His son, Joseph M. Field, was a brilliant and prolific contributor to current periodicals and a successful playwright. His daughter, Kate Field, was the journalist and lecturer who attained a national repute and popularity in later years.

Lorenzo Da Ponte was a literary celebrity abroad before he reached New York in 1805. From his native Italy he went to Vienna where he met Mozart and there wrote the libretti for the great musician's operas: "Don Giovanni," "La Nozze di Figaro" and "Cosi fan Tutti." He introduced the study of Dante here and was professor of Italian at Columbia College. In 1807 he published a compendium of his memoirs, subsequently expanded to three volumes (1829-30), which detail a rather variegated international career. Not much stress can be laid on his Catholic character, however. When he died, on August 17, 1838, at No. 91 Spring Street, he was buried in the old Eleventh Street cemetery. The grave was not marked. This cemetery was closed in 1848; at the time of the consecration of St. Patrick's Cathedral, during the Centenary celebrations of 1908, the bones and dust of such of those buried there as could be gathered up were transferred to Calvary Cemetery. No trace of Da Ponte was found. This Eleventh Street cemetery ground, in which, according to Archbishop Corrigan,[6] there were from March 13, 1833, to August, 1848, a total of 41,016 interments, was sold for $357,000, in November, 1912, except the northeast corner at Twelfth Street, where the Italian Church of Our Lady, Help of Christians, has been built. It was bought in August, 1832, for $37,050, to be used as a cemetery because St. Patrick's graveyard in Mott

[5] *Bibliographia Catholica Americana*, pp. 20, 21.
[6] *Records and Studies*, Vol. i, p. 374.

Street, in which the first burials had been made in 1801, had become filled up. Archbishop Corrigan says there were 32,153 interments in St. Patrick's yard up to its close in March, 1833.

Da Ponte's daughter married Dr. Henry James Anderson, mathematician, scientist and philanthropist, one of the most noted converts to the Faith during the century. He died in his seventy-sixth year, on October 19, 1875, in India where he had gone to observe the transit of Venus. He was for a number of years the presiding officer of the St. Vincent de Paul Society in New York, and through his very generous gifts became one of the founders of St. Gabriel's Church and of the Good Shepherd Convent in New York, and of St. Elizabeth's Church, Fort Lee, New Jersey, where he is buried. For some time he edited the *Tablet*, and was a contributor to various Catholic periodicals and in demand as a lecturer. He became a Catholic in 1849 while on a visit to the astronomer Arago in France.

The first Italian opera sung in New York was Mozart's "Il Barbiere" presented by the Garcia troupe at the old Park Theatre in Park Row, opposite the present Post Office, on the evening of November 19, 1825. Da Ponte was present and the Garcia troupe was brought to New York in one of his own ships by the Catholic merchant, Dominick Lynch, Jr., who during his student days at Georgetown College recited, on February 22, 1799, the eulogy at the memorial exercises for the death of George Washington. In 1790 his father, Dominick Lynch, Sr., was one of the four laymen who signed the address of congratulation to Washington on his inauguration as our first President.

Dominick Lynch, Jr., lived at No. 1 Greenwich Street, and it was there that the prima donna of the opera company, Maria Garcia, better known later as Madame Malibran, the greatest singer of her day, first sang in New York.

"For this advantageous accession to the resources of mental gratification we are indebted to the taste and refinement of Dominick Lynch," says Dr. J. M. Francis in his *Old New York* (pp. 254–55):

> . . . Lynch, a native of New York, was the acknowledged head of the fashionable and festive board, a gentlemen of the *ton* and a melodist of great powers and exquisite taste. He had long striven to enhance the character of our music; he was the master of English song but he felt,

from his close cultivation of music and his knowledge of the genius of his countrymen that much was wanting and that more could be accomplished, and he sought out while in Europe an Italian troupe which his persuasive eloquence and the liberal spirit of Price led to embark for our shores where they arrived in November, 1825.

During her stay in New York Maria Garcia was married at St. Peter's to Eugene Malibran, a French merchant. The witnesses were Dominick Lynch and his social companions, John B. la Sala and Peter Harmony. La Sala was another Catholic merchant whose name is to be found among those promoting the interests of the Church during this constructive period. He saved the Visitation Convent in Washington from dissolution in 1822, when the community was in such dire want that it had been determined to close the school. He had three daughters, and wishing to place them in this school, he visited Washington to arrange the details. The poverty of the Sisters so moved him that he insisted on advancing them a sum of money sufficient to save the existence of the pioneer Catholic school for the higher education of women in the United States.[7] The Lynchs, father and son, had a number of children, but most of them made mixed marriages and their descendants now are no longer of the Faith. The same must be said of the Harmonys, the Fields, the Dornins and others of the pioneer families.

New York's unique material prosperity and commercial preeminence begin about 1825 with the canal and railroad building era. With this came a great increase of the Catholic population and new demands for the conservation of their spiritual welfare. Bishop Connolly arrived in New York to take charge of the See, as its first resident ordinary, on November 24, 1815. He had about twenty-thousand souls under his jurisdiction which included all New York State and most of New Jersey, and but four priests to help him in a task that soon wore him out. He died at his residence, No. 512 Broadway, on February 5, 1825. For two years following the Diocese had, as its administrator, the Very Rev. Dr. John Power, who had come from his native Cork, Ireland, in 1819, to be the pastor of St. Peter's, Barclay Street, and the Bishop's vicar-general. Dr. Power had been a seminary

[7] LATHROP, *A Story of Courage*, pp. 223-225.

professor in Ireland. He was a fine preacher and a distinguished scholar, who may be set down as one of our very first advocates of the potency of the Apostolate of the Press. He might be canonized as the Patron of the Barclay Street known all over the English-speaking world as the center of the Catholic publishing trade of the United States. The pioneer publisher of the street was a now unknown Higgins who had his establishment at No. 16 (old number) in 1817, and there published the first Barclay Street volume: *Catholic Doctrine and Catholic Principles Explained. To which is added "The Conversion of the Duchess of York" written by Herself; and of "A. M. de Ramsay" by Archbishop Fénelon* (1709) *as given by Ramsay Himself.*

Could Barclay Street's record in Apologetics have a more substantial cornerstone? An edition of the same book was printed, round the corner, in 1811, at No. 59 Church Street, as part of the output of the printing plant Joseph Desnoues ran for General Moreau's École Économique. Dr. Power followed this, in 1824, by an edition of the New Testament to which a list of 742 subscribers now gives special value as a directory of Catholic New Yorkers of that day. A *History of the Holy Bible* and a *History of the New Testament*, both "from the French by J. Reeve," an English Jesuit, were published by J. Seymour at No. 49 John Street in 1814. The erratic Father William Taylor, styled by Archbishop Corrigan "an early example of 'Americanism,'"[8] published in 1819 an unorthodox prayer-book, *The Christian's Monitor*, in the preface to which he announced:

> to the Roman Catholics of this country my intention of causing to be published in this city an edition of the Douay translation of the Scriptures

but nothing came of it. With his prayer-book he published in a pamphlet a *Sermon on the Festival of St. Patrick the Apostle of Ireland* which he had preached in St. Patrick's Cathedral, on March 21, 1819. Another sermon pamphlet was that of a discourse, on Sunday, February 25, 1810, delivered for the benefit of the City Dispensary by the Rev. B. J. Fenwick, S.J., "Published by Williams & Whiting, at their Theological and Classical Bookstore, No. 118 Pearl Street, J. Seymour, printer." Neither the publishers nor the printer were Catholics.

[8] *Records and Studies*, Vol. i, pt. ii, p. 216.

In 1825, Dr. Power influenced the inception of a weekly paper, the *Truth Teller*, the first number of which was issued on April 2 of that year with this imprint:

> New York: Published regularly every Saturday by W. E. Andrews & Co., at the office of the *Truth Teller*, 95 Maiden Lane, where communications (post paid) are respectfully requested to be directed. Terms, four dollars per annum—payable half-yearly in advance.

There is not a word of local Catholic news in the paper until the sixth issue, May 7, when a notice is printed of a coming sermon by Dr. Power for the benefit of the orphan asylum. The imprint "W. E. Andrews & Co." disappears with this issue, and "Printed by the Proprietors George Pardow and William Denman at the office Collect opposite Canal Street" was substituted for it.

"W. E. Andrews" was the William Eusebius Andrews who was the indefatigable publisher of Catholic literature in London during Bishop Milner's time. The once so popular *End of Controversy* was among his publications. There is no record of his ever having been in New York, and his connection with the *Truth Teller* is a mystery now unsolvable. George Pardow was a member of an old English Catholic family and came to New York from Birmingham in 1823. He was in the hardware business and dealt principally in needles, an important commodity of domestic use in those days. His store was at No. 95 Maiden Lane, the first office of the paper. He was among the first dealers in New York to sell the newly fashioned steel pens which in time superseded the old goose quills. His interest in the paper was sold in January, 1830, to William Denman, who continued as its owner until March, 1855, when he disposed of it to the proprietors of the *Irish American*, who then consolidated it with that paper.

George Pardow had four children, two sons, Gregory and Robert. They studied at Stonyhurst before the family emigrated to New York. Gregory became a priest of special promise but died in his thirty-fourth year, in 1838. Robert was the father of the Rev. William O'B. and the Rev. Robert Pardow, two Jesuits of our own time, and of their sisters, Mother Augusta and Mother Pauline Pardow of the Sacred Heart Congregation. Their aunts, Julia and Helen Pardow, were for many years Superiors of the Sacred Heart Convent and the Convent of Mercy in New York.

William Denman was born in Scotland, March 17, 1784, and claimed to have been in the British army before he came to New York, hence a title "Major" by which he was known locally. His early career is not recorded. He had no literary training or ability but became of political importance because of his connection with the *Truth Teller*, which supplied an organ of public opinion for the fast growing Catholic colony. He outlived all his day and generation. His last years, unknown and forgotten, he spent in the family of a generous friend, the late Mrs. James Coleman, a sister of the California "Bonanza millionaire," William O'Brien. He died September 12, 1870.

Denman did not lack for helpers to make up for his own literary deficiencies in the conducting of the *Truth Teller*. There was Dr. Power and his assistants, the Rev. Thomas C. Levins and the Rev. Joseph A. Schneller, both former members of the Jesuit community at Georgetown, D. C. Father Levins, who wrote over the pen-name of "Berkley MacAlpin," was a gifted and versatile controversialist. He had a testy temper, however, and a tendency to insubordination that got him into trouble with Bishop Dubois in a trustee squabble and he was suspended for several years. Father Schneller was an early and staunch advocate of Catholic education and by vigorous pamphlets and contributions to the press did much to refute the calumnies against Catholics circulated by the fanatics of that day.

Other contributors to the *Truth Teller* were Dr. William J. Macneven; Thomas S. Brady, one of the early schoolmasters, father of Judge John R. Brady and James T. Brady, the celebrated lawyer (Cardinal McCloskey was among his pupils); and another old classical schoolmaster, Patrick Sarsfield Casserly, whose *Latin Prosidy* and *Greek Reader* were extensively used for two generations. Several books of devotional reading were also compiled and edited by him. He came here from Ireland in 1824 and opened his school, which he called the "Chrestomathic Institution or Seminary for General Education," at No. 36 Cherry Street, in 1828. The venerable Thomas O'Connor was also always ready to battle for the Faith. The literary tradition of his family is continued today by his grandson, Dr. Thomas O'Conor Sloane, former editor of the *Scientific American* and more recent translator of Jorgensen's *St. Francis of Assisi*.

In time the *Truth Teller* became tainted with trusteeism, and Fathers Schneller and Levins, on October 5, 1833, started the *Weekly Register* as a rival to it. They had an efficient auxiliary in the Rev. Dr. Felix Varela, a Cuban driven here by political troubles in 1823. He had been a member of the Spanish Cortes as a delegate from Cuba. After a short time spent at St. Peter's, Dr. Varela organized Christ Church, Ann Street, with a new parish, the fourth in New York. "He was a solid theologian and wrote several works in his native language, which circulated extensively through Cuba and Spanish America, and in English contributed extensively to the Catholic papers and periodicals."[9] He projected a Spanish periodical in New York, and was instrumental in the publication of the Catholic magazine for children which had a brief career of prosperity (1838–40). At the time of his death, February 18, 1853, he was pastor of the Church of the Transfiguration. His life, in Spanish, by J. J. Rodriguez, was published in 1878.

Another factor in these enterprises was the Rev. Dr. Charles Constantine Pise, preacher, poet and author, Chaplain to the United States Senate, the only priest ever attaining the honor of the Chaplaincy of Congress, to which he was appointed, on motion of Henry Clay, December 11, 1832. Before coming to New York, he had been a Jesuit novice at Georgetown and in Rome, but for domestic and family reasons had completed his theological course for ordination as a secular priest. He wrote two church histories, the lives of St. Ignatius and his companions, a popular novel, *Father Rowland*, a doctrinal work, several minor pamphlets, and a number of poems, among them the oft-quoted apostrophe to the American Flag.

> In fact, he first endeavored to give the young Catholics of America reading which would be attractive and innocent. Like many good works, this at first found many assailants and borne down by the fierce criticism of Catholic reviewers, the publisher of these popular Catholic works was compelled to stop the publication. All, however, now admit the necessity of a literature of this kind, of which Dr. Pise must be considered the founder.[10]

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[9] SHEA, *The Catholic Church in the United States*, Vol. iii, p. 402.
[10] SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. iii, pp. 407-408.

With Dr. Varela and Father Schneller he edited the *Catholic Expositor*, a monthly magazine (1840–42), in which many of his own contributions appeared and which supplied a medium through which other Catholic writers had a chance to come before the public. Notable among these were John Augustus Shea and Charles James Cannon. The latter's first book, *Poems by a Proser*, appeared in 1831; *Facts, Feelings and Fancies*, 1835; *Oran the Outcast*, 1837; and a number of others, some of which were reprinted in England and one, *Father Felix*, was translated into French and German (1845). He was the literary adviser and editor for the Dunigan publishing concern and compiled a spelling-book and a series of school readers. He also wrote several plays—one, "The Oath of Office," for James W. Wallack, who produced it at the Bowery Theatre, then the leading playhouse of the country.[11]

Following the *Expositor*, what may be called the chapter of modern Catholic literary New York begins, but this period of metropolitan evolution will not be touched upon here. Enough has been set down in the rough outlines of the foregoing record to show that in the literary field, as in all else in culture and refinement that has gone to build up the New York that is the world capital of the Twentieth Century, Catholic activities have always been in evidence. The "Greenwich Village" section, now supposed to be the center of New York's Bohemian art and literary "life", was largely an Irish Catholic settlement of poor hard-working artisans in 1824. A disgraceful spirit of intolerance was rife in the city then, and on July 12, of that year, a procession of its anti-Catholic Orangemen marched up to the village and excited a riot there. Not the rioters, but a number of their victims, were arrested for the proceedings of the day. When these Catholics were brought to trial two months later the eloquent Thomas Addis Emmet was stirred to such indignation that, in their defense, he made one of his most impassioned addresses, denouncing the disgraceful intolerance then existing in New York and the great injustice the prisoners had suffered. As a result they were at once discharged. The Greenwich men, under the leadership of Charles O'Conor, then a young lawyer, as a token of

[11] *The N. Y. Catholic News*, April 11, 1908.

their gratitude, presented Mr. Emmet with a silver pitcher on which was engraved:

> Presented to Thomas Addis Emmet, Esq., as a slight testimonial of their respect and admiration for the Patriotism and talents displayed in his gratuitous defence of his Exiled Countrymen, from the assaults of Irish Orangemen, in America, by the Irishmen of the village of Greenwich whose cause and principles he advocated on that occasion in the Court of Sessions of New York for September, 1824.

The venerable Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, the great jurist's Catholic grandson, still has that silver pitcher among the family treasures.

THOMAS F. MEEHAN,
New York City.

THE GALLIPOLIS COLONY

Midway down the current of the Ohio River, between Wheeling and Cincinnati, the traveler comes upon an apparently modern little city of some 5,000 souls that bears the peculiar name, Gallipolis, and is the county seat of Gallia County, Ohio. The classical scholar should hear the word before venturing to pronounce it, for the stress is not on "lip" as his instincts and the analogy of the similarly named European peninsula, now war-famed Gallipoli, would lead him to suppose, for this American City of the Gaul bears associations with La Belle France not less in its utterance than in its meaning. The accent is on the first and last syllables—Gàl-li-po-leèce. If one disembarks, unless he be a close observer, he will find little else to impress the ear or eye with the suspicion that the names of the city and of the county originated from other than the usual random selection; but on inquiry he will be informed by any child in the public playground that this was indeed once an old French city. The historians of the place will give him proper dates and names. On October 17th,[1] and shortly after, in 1790, a colony of 800 Frenchmen[2] and their families, led by the Marquis Lezay-Marnezia, Count de Barth de Walbach, the Baron de Breteche, and Pierre Charles DeHault DeLassus et DeLuziere, Knight of the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael, and many others of lofty titles, accompanied by several priests, arrived here in the heart of an illimitable wilderness to found homes for their offspring under the aegis of the new born liberty of the western world.

If the visitor is seen to be interested in ecclesiastical affairs, the information may be volunteered that the first Catholic bishop appointed by Rome for the United States was to have had his See at this place. Should the stranger show himself skeptical, it would be no difficult matter to put before him the same state-

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[1] Some variants are given for the date, but October seventeenth is practically agreed upon. Laforge, for instance, says October twentieth; but his party was probably not among the first arrivals.

[2] Tardiveau, Audrain, and DeLassus say 800 families were at Gallipolis. The number that left France was much larger; the number that remained in Ohio as settlers was never nearly so large.

ment in the printed page.[3] It may be found in a dozen or more Ohio journals and works of history and in almost any of the American Catholic periodicals that have been in existence for any considerable number of years. Nor is there wanting real evidence that such was the case. These stories are all founded on a brief statement that may be seen in the diary of Bishop Simon Gabriel Bruté, of Vincennes.[4] The remarkable fact is that the tale kept its identity during its many tellings and did not grow into irrecognizable features. The Bishop of Vincennes met in France an Abbé Boisnantier, who told him with some circumstance of detail that he had been chosen Bishop of the Gallipolis colony even before that group of émigrés had departed for America. John Gilmary Shea and other careful historians sought for the name of Boisnantier among the documents in Rome, with such fruitless results that the tantalizing little bit of information given us about the Bishop of Gallipolis was losing its interest when the *Revue de Paris* in 1898 brought him from impending oblivion with just the meager additional item that his home was at St. Roch and that he was not the first but the second choice of the Ohio colonizers for the bishopric in America. Finally, in the July, 1916, issue of this REVIEW, the editor turns the white light of documentary evidence upon the scene, and our western bishop vanishes forever. We were here shown the petitions sent to Rome asking the mitre for Dom Didier, a Benedictine; and when he was granted a jurisdiction over the prospective immigrants less than episcopal, the same petitioners appeal to the Propaganda in favor of Boisnantier of St. Roch. No action was taken in regard to the latter request. Further, an examination of the dates of these letters from Paris to Rome shows that they were penned a few months subsequent to the issuance of the bulls that created John Carroll first bishop of the United States, November 6, 1789. No priority in episcopal honors may henceforth be claimed by Ohio, but it may be believed that the French colony may have had

[3] The *Records of the Am. Cath. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. x, page 40, for instance, tell us: "At Gallipolis the colony had for its ecclesiastical head a bishop, the Abbé Boisnantier . . . and as chaplain . . . Dom Pierre Joseph Didier." WILLIAM G. SIBLEY in "*The French* 500," Chapter vi, similarly has Abbé Boisnantier actually appointed to the bishopric by Rome.

[4] *Memoirs of . . . Simon William Gabriel Bruté*, by the Rt. Rev. James Roosevelt Bayley, New York, 1861.

something to do with the hastening of the appointment of Carroll. Rome at this period was keen to the happenings in the New World, and it is plausible that it felt for several months beforehand that such petitions as those for the Gallipolis bishopric were about to be urged and took measures in the interest of the native clergy to forestall them.

Shorn of its interest as a possible episcopal See, the Ohio French colony—if realities are of higher moment than merely contemplated dignities—may hold our attention as the first successful western Catholic colony. I say successful advisedly. Its success was not local. Little Catholicity remains in the town today, though it has a fair church[5] and a worthy pastor. The city where Lord Baltimore planted the first seed of all American Catholicity, St. Mary's in Maryland, has not so much; an obscure Protestant female seminary is all that marks its site. John Smith's Jamestown, that grew to be Virginia and much more, is now but a swamp where the owl may hoot the moon with impunity through the moss-grown desolation. The good accomplished by the attempt to establish a city on the Ohio was similarly scattered abroad far and wide through the length and breadth of the nation, and they are impatient investigators who pass over Gallipolis in their study of American history because they find little on the spot to correspond with the sanguine hopes of its founders.

Neither the Catholic nor the secular historians of recent date who treat of the bewildering period of eight years that fall between the close of the American Revolution and the inauguration of Washington as President have quite overlooked the projected French city that was to have graced the banks of the Beautiful River. But it is everywhere touched upon as a digression rather than in its true light as an integral part of the series of events. Secular writers seem happy to be able to vary the gray monotony of their tales of Indian fights and congressional wranglings with this piece of bright French color, while Catholics apparently resent the intrusion of Parisian worldliness into the life of the primitive Church in America, overlooking the deeper and more

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[5] The writer takes occasion here to thank Father Lucius Kessler, recently pastor of Gallipolis, and Mrs. Naret and Mr. Sibley, who, at the Father's request, made him gifts of their books.

permanent good that came as a result in the final reckoning both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs.

Let us see how the creation of a French city on the banks of the Ohio in 1790 fits into the Catholic and national occurrences of that day.

The Church in America comes before us in a glance when we read the official report made by Father John Carroll, Prefect-Apostolic of the United States, to the Propaganda in 1785, just five years before the coming of the French, and it is a doleful panorama.[6] The total number of the Catholic clergy in the thirteen states was twenty-four. Some of these were very far advanced in age, others delicate or worn out by incessant labor. There was no seminary, not even a Catholic school in the land. The total Catholic population was 24,500.

It is difficult today to grasp the paucity of these figures. One is inclined to imagine the condition of the little flock of Christ in America in the days of Carroll as strange, remote, and missionary, yet withal considerably better than that of the Church in China today. The Church in China has nearly 2,000,000 faithful children to Carroll's 25,000. It were fairer to compare it to the depths of the Dark Continent or to the plains of Thibet. For no other populous parts of the world are so far from civilization and the Church's bounteous influences.

Within a decade of years, the state of ecclesiastical affairs had undergone a complete transformation. Carroll was himself a bishop, and, although some of his co-workers had died, the number of his priests had doubled, and he found himself possessed of a body of clergy whose zeal, energy, and devotion will forever hold their memories bright in the annals of the whole Church. How did this come about? Our Macedonia had not cried for help. In fact, judging by some of Carroll's letters, it would seem that owing to the prevalence of Voltairian notions[7] even among the clergy of Europe, he would have been afraid to have issued such a call. But a numerous and exemplary body of priests came. We usually find their coming explained by the formula: Father X was driven to America by the French Revolution. It is true the

[6] SHEA, ii, 257, 259.

[7] SHEA, ii, 286, 313. *Cath. Hist. Researches*, xv, 17.

French Revolution drove a great many French priests from their native land, but it had nothing to do with their coming to America. The present persecution in Mexico is not sending a numerous missionary band to Africa or to Thibet. The world was wide in the days of the French Revolution and there were other fields for French exiles to seek as a haven besides America, fields that might seem more inviting to royalist Catholics than a young Republic where less than one person in every hundred was of the faith. Bavaria, Spain, and England offered generous hospitality. Canada spoke the mother tongue, as did parts of the East and of the West Indies. The old Jesuit missions in the Orient, as well as those of the more remote parts of the two Americas, called in vain for priests. There seems no adequate explanation of the influences that attracted the émigrés to America other than the alluring prospects of the Scioto country of which Gallipolis was for so long a period to be the center and emporium.

The men whom this movement brought to America were to be of immense benefit to the nascent Church. They stand out as a distinct stratum in the structure of the formations that have made the American Church. The overflow from France completely submerged the native clergy, and nothing in our history is more unique and conspicuous than the presence of the French clergy in the period just subsequent to the era of Carroll. They occupied every one of the six episcopal Sees of the United States. There were no other bishops but Frenchmen: Maréchal ruled in Baltimore, Cheverus in Boston, Flaget and David in Bardstown, Dubois in New York, deBarth, not really French and not a bishop, in Philadelphia, while the wide reach of the Louisianas and Floridas was governed by Du Bourg.

At the period in which, according to Carroll's statement, the condition of the Church in America was so unpromising, political affairs were equally uncertain. To mention but one illustration, and one pertinent to our subject, the Treaty of Paris, by which American independence was acknowledged, had not yet become operative in Ohio or in the great stretch of territory to the northwest. It was eleven years after the signing of the Treaty of Paris before freedom reached the west. Not Yorktown but the victory of Wayne at the Maumee Rapids or the Fallen Timbers, in May, 1794, concluded the British control of the United States. British

garrisons were not only not withdrawn, but a new English fort was actually erected on indisputably American territory, a little below the present site of the city of Toledo, Ohio, and manned with British troops after the proclamation of peace.[8] The Indians were so encouraged to resist the Americans north of the Ohio, that, while in 1787 the region south of that river was receiving thousands of immigrants yearly and was ripe for statehood, Marietta, the first organized settlement to the north of the river, was still in contemplation. Roosevelt in *The Winning of the West* holds this act of England as a darker deed of treachery than even the burning of the government buildings at Washington in the War of 1812–14. This fact is instanced to indicate some of the difficulties that confronted the sorry Congress which in those days met occasionally to debate on the common interests of the thirteen Free, but by no means United, States.

The civil conditions of the nation and the prospects of Catholicity were, however, by no means similar. For whereas the future of the Church looked foreboding, in the national life there were manifestations on all sides of almost uncontrollable activities. Wealth was flowing in many new streams of commerce; the bays were white with sails; the plowman sang with exulting hope as his ploughshare cut the virgin soil; the axes rang in the wildernesses of the west and the south and the north. All grades and stations of society were eagerly rushing after the opening opportunities. The veteran of the Revolution was alone unequal to the swift competition of the race for affluence. Driven to the wall on every hand, he got sulky one day and pointed his old flintlock through the windows of the Congressional Assembly at Philadelphia with the result that this body convened henceforth in another city where patriots had never been very numerous or dangerous. The old soldier, the western lands, and the public debt were among the questions demanding immediate congressional attention.

On July 5, 1787, there came riding into the city of New York, then the seat of Congress, a Congregational minister, the Rev Manasseh Cutler of Ipswich, Massachusetts, who had a project

[8] *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications, passim;* as an instance, Vol. xxvi, p. 106. ROOSEVELT, *The Winning of the West* (1902), iv, p. 97.

that promised at least a partial solution to each of these three difficulties at once. Cutler's grandchildren have given us an excellent biography of him, in which they include much of his diary; there is no other book of equal importance to the historian of early Ohio. They skilfully place as frontispiece a portrait that shows an earnest, calculating, yet kindly, patient countenance. The calm eyes catch one with their open confidence. If no name were affixed, one might guess both from the garment and the features that the picture represented a Christian Brother of the old French school. It shows a soul that clearly towered beyond the reach of ordinary storms of human passion; but our chapter of the book carries him into the whirlwind.

Cutler, together with Generals Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Tupper and leading men from every part of Massachusetts, had met some months before at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern in Boston and organized an "Ohio Company" with a capital stock of $1,000,000.[9] As a matter of fact the money invested was in continental certificates, the pay of the old soldiers of the Revolution, which were at the time worth but twelve cents on the dollar, so that the stock in reality amounted to only $120,000; yet even this was an enormous sum at that date. Cutler was sent to New York to contract with the Board of the Treasury of the United States for 1,000,000 acres of Ohio lands for his $1,000,000. We shall omit the details of the obstacles and discouragements he met while making his visits to each of the congressmen who were to empower the Board of the Treasury to enter the contract, as well as of the shrewdness and energy he displayed in securing a favorable hearing. When matters began to look hopeless, he encountered William Duer, the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, by whom he was received most graciously. Cutler's diary grows more enthusiastic over the wisdom and the wines of Duer than over all the victories of the Revolution in which he had taken an honorable part. No country yokel ever fell more completely under the spell of the confidence man of the circus than did our shrewd New England divine under the fascinations of this charming financier.

Duer urged the Massachusetts man to ask Congress not for

[9] *Life of Manasseh Cutler*, by W. P. & J. P. Cutler, Cincinnati, 1888.

1,000,000 acres merely, but for 5 or 6,000,000, the whole southeastern quarter of Ohio, a region that today would include the city of Columbus and stretch thence east and south over an area greater than that of the State of Massachusetts. It was agreed between these two that the greater portion of the land should be sold in Holland or other parts of Europe. In this agreement we catch the first faint beginning of the project that crystallized in the outcome into the Gallipolis colony.

It was to be urged on Congress that the old soldiers' certificates, which, as we have said, were worth but twelve cents on the dollar, would at once leap to par value, for the purchase of Ohio lands. Congress was won over, and it instructed the Board of the Treasury to sell as Cutler desired, but it was only long after the bargain was closed that our legislative body learned that it had been dealing with two companies rather than one. The Ohio Company, which was Cutler and a large part of the population of Massachusetts, secured the right of preëmption to a million acres in southeastern Ohio, about the present site of Marietta; and the Scioto Company, with which we are more nearly concerned, obtained first right to about 5,000,000 acres, of which the Scioto River was the western boundary. The chicanery by which this Scioto Company was brought into existence and carried into operation has stigmatized its originators as "swindlers";[10] yet it must be said that General E. C. Dawes, one of Cutler's grandsons, has entered an excellent defense of his sire's integrity that has never been fully met, so far at least as the financial transactions go.

It might seem that Cutler's patriotism suffered a more severe shipwreck. For he planned to sell one of the strategic points of America in the markets of Holland and France, and this at a time when every settlement between the Ohio River and the Rocky Mountains was occupied by Frenchmen; and when, as he well

[10]Roosevelt says "a swindling land company"; McMaster, in the *History of the People of the U. S.*, characterizes it a "most shameful piece of land jobbery." These condemnations sound like snap judgments and cannot stand before the careful analysis of documentary evidence made by General Dawes. Yet C. B. Todd's study of the case was also careful, and he calls the affair "a most disreputable business." It seems to the writer that not enough attention is given to the fact—which indicates sincerity—that in the crash of the scheme the originators were crushed financially as well as the emigrants.

knew, the Americans themselves to the south, in Kentucky, were, so to speak, on a pivot, vacillating between their allegiance to the Congress and some foreign power. But it may be said in his favor that the planting of the settlement at Marietta and of its bulwark and appanage, the colony at Gallipolis, was of paramount importance in holding the western domain to the Union. These colonial ventures sent the trend of public affairs in America in the right direction. They made Wayne's subsequent victory a necessary consequence. They did more. The keen statesman mind of the great Carroll of Carrolton[11] had pointed out that the ownership in common of the western lands would serve more than anything else to weld the thirteen disorganized states into a unity and a nation. Such proved to be the case. The little settlements west of Pennsylvania proved to be in a critical hour of our national history the real keystone that solidified and united the thirteen sovereign and independent governments of America. The fact that the federal congress was shown to have a source of revenue in the limitless western lands transformed the character of that body from a debating society into a truly national legislature. All this is said to show how deeply the currents of American history are tinged by the little French colony that stood foremost in the firing line of civilization's advance into the western wilderness.

The Scioto Company began operations in earnest by sending Joel Barlow to Paris with plenipotentiary powers to dispose of its rights to Ohio real estate. There seems to be much mystery as to who precisely constituted the Scioto Company, but it may be noted that in the Parisian deeds of sale issued by Barlow, the three persons, M. Cutler, W. Duer and W. Sargent, are designated "sole proprietors" of the marketed properties.[12] For some

[11] "On September 13, 1783, Carroll offered a proposition, asserting that: 'The U. S. have succeeded to the sovereignty over the western territory, and are thereby vested as one undivided and independent nation with all and every power and right exercised by the King of Great Britain over said territory. [This territory] if cast into new states will tend to increase the happiness of mankind, by rendering the purchase of land easy, and the possession of liberty permanent.'" The biographer of Cutler comments on this far-seeing constructive proposition of Carroll: "This sounds like a *Declaration of Nationality* based upon a sovereign right over a vast domain, to be used for the common benefit, and governed as '*one undivided and independent nation.*'" (Italics Cutler's.) CUTLER, *o. c.*, p. 362.

[12] BEDOTE, Chapter ii.

months Barlow worked with little success, but immediately after the fall of the Bastile a French corporation, which called itself "La Compagnie du Scioto,"[13] negotiated a purchase at $1.20 per acre of 3,000,000 acres from the American Scioto Company, with which it had no other identity save that of name. It began re-sell to prospective immigrants to America in small lots and with full rights of ownership, although of course it possessed itself only a right to preëmption. But the Compagnie du Scioto went out of existence after four months to make way for a more ambitious corporation, which is known as the "Company of the 24."[14]

This body took up the rights and obligations of the earlier concern in January, 1790; but in July of the same year, the DeBarth-Coquet Company is handling a part of the project.[15] Each of these three organizations sent colonists to Ohio; but the Company of the 24 was by far the most active and important.

Its leading spirit was D'Espremesnil, and the idea of sending a bishop to Ohio seems to have been particularly his. Dom

[13] La Compagnie du Scioto was made up of just eight persons: 1st, Joel Barlow; 2nd, an Englishman named William Playfair, author of the famous *Prospectus*, whom many writers blame severely. A letter of his in Sibley's "*The French* 500" puts him in a new light; it is not the letter of a rascal or a runaway. 3rd and 4th, M. Guilbert and M. Antoine St. Didier, both Parisian merchants; 5th, William Louis Joseph Chevalier de Coquelin; 6th, John Francis Noel Meheas, Comptroller of the Treasury of the King's Domain; 7th, Claude Odille Joseph Barond, Esquire; 8th, M. Louis Marthe, Marquis of Gouy D'Arcy, Chevalier, High Bailiff of the Sword, Member of the National Assembly. The name of M. Jean Antoine Chais de Soisson is often added to the list, but he was not of the company. He was merely an agent, the most active agent, it is true, and treasurer with powers of attorney.

[14] The names of the members of the Company of the 24 are nowhere given in full. The list in the *Gallipolis Papers* (Van Wormer Library, Cincinnati), Box III, Book A, p. 265, wears all the marks of a guess. It reads: "At Paris, this 8th day of February, 1790. 1 Lezay-Marnezia; 2 Defreville; 3 DeMaubranche; 4 Bellon; 5 Duval d'Espremenil (sic); 6 William Playfair, (pour 7 MM. de Vichy, 8 de Bondy, 9 Guerin); 10 Perrotin de Barmond (pour 11 Madame de Beauharnais); 12 Schwendt; 13 De Marnezia, fils; 14 De Barth Bourogne; 15 J. Barlow; 16 D. Smith; 17 Thiebaut; 18 DeBarth (pour MM. de Boulogne and Blondeau); 19 MM. Soulique; 20 Blondeau; 21 Duportail (pour 22 M. de la Valette); 23 Chais de Soisson; 24 Rochefontaine."

The article in the *Historical Records and Studies*, Vol. i, names 18 of the 24, only 9 of the names agreeing with the above catalogue. It adds the Marquis de Gaville; the Baron de la Breteche, MM. de Lally, Mounier, Malouet, Vanderbendin; de Quinsons, de Luziere, Madame de Laval. Some confusion has arisen owing to the similarity of the names of M. Bourogne, number 14 above, and M. Boulogne.

[15] On July 22, 1790, this Company bought Barlow's preëmption. Francis M. J. DeBarth secures 50 shares for himself and his father; William Playfair keeps 30; Mark Anthony Coquet takes 10 and Louis Philip Douvalette 10.

Pierre Joseph Didier, of the Benedictine Congregation of St. Maur, was first choice. His brother's money was drawn into the colonial scheme, after which Rome is petitioned for the appointment of Abbé Boisnantier. It was complained that the Benedictine might prove a mercenary ecclesiastic and so injure the spiritual welfare of his flock. D'Espremesnil had some charge against the Benedictine that he had taken more than he was warranted of the altar furniture and sacred vessels of his monastery. The real gravamen against him seems rather to have been that he had set out for America as a simple missionary priest, whereas the corporation wanted a bishop. A bishop would be so much better an advertisement. Fortunately for Father Didier's reputation, we have the testimony of the Papal Nuncio at Paris, given in confidence to Rome after he had heard all the details of the accusation, declaring that Didier was a good, religious man. The Nuncio refused to urge Boisnantier's appointment, among other reasons, because of the faculties already granted Didier.

Strange to say, these faculties were so conditioned that as a matter of fact they were no faculties[16] at all. They recited that if the colony were to settle inside the United States—as, of course, it did—all faculties were to originate with the newly created Bishop of Baltimore; but if the colony were located outside the territory of the United States, Didier should have complete jurisdiction over his people. This meant that, if Quebec claimed jurisdiction over Ohio, Didier was independent. It may be noted that perhaps the only priest[17] then ministering in Ohio was Rev. Edmund Burke, Vicar-General of the Diocese of Quebec, who kept on exercising the ministry in all those regions without the

[16] A copy of the Faculties is in the Archives of Notre Dame University. The document reads: "The Sacred Congregation . . . agreed . . . that . . . Faculties . . . could be conceded to Father Didier . . . for seven years with complete jurisdiction over all the French who emigrate with him, on conditions that the lands and place where they shall locate their home and colony shall not be within the diocese of any bishop within the limits and government of the United States, which is completely under the jurisdiction of the Bishop lately appointed for Baltimore. Moreoever, Father Didier can in no wise use the above faculties without the consent of the said bishop."

[17] Was Father Burke the only priest ministering in Ohio? In Robin's *Noureaux Voyages*, p. 17, Father Didier wrote that he met many American Catholics and baptized their children. "They see a priest but four times a year." Who was this priest?

shadow of a doubt of the validity of his jurisdiction until after the battle of the Fallen Timbers. He became Halifax's first bishop. After what has been said above of the British occupation of Ohio up to the time of General Wayne's successes, it will be clear from the phrasing of Didier's faculties that the Roman Curia was much better informed as to the political conditions in remotest America than those writers of today are who read a manifestation of Roman ignorance into the expression of the possibility that an Ohio colony might not be in the United States. It should be gratifying to Americans to observe that the faculties respected America's just rights fully. Didier as a consequence derived his powers from Bishop Carroll, who made him, moreover, a Vicar-General.

Meanwhile, Barlow and his associates were utilizing every method known to the publicity men of that period to bring before the attention of Paris and other parts of the continent the rare opportunities in the New World now awaiting the wary. Maps and pamphlets and topographical descriptions by American, British and French publishers were issued broadcast to make known the wonders of the riches of the forests and the soil and the mines of the Trans-Alleghany country. Two English companies had planned settlements on the Ohio[18] before the American Revolution; their literature was requisitioned now. Cutler wrote an excellent *Description of the Soil and Products*[19] which was translated into French. A work by St. John de Crêvecoeur. *The American Farmer*, written some years before, was resurrected and grew into wide popularity. Appleton's *Encyclopedia of Biography* blames this book for enticing 500 Frenchmen to an American wilderness, there to perish of hunger and cold. The records do not show that they met premature deaths in Ohio to

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[18] For an account of the earlier Ohio Company which merged into the Grand Association see Sparks' *Washington* ii, pp. 357, 483, and Franklin's *Works*, i, p. 339; iv, pp. 233, 302-380. In June, 1769, Thomas Walpole, Benjamin Franklin, J. Sargent and others asked for the Walpole Grant or Vandalia. It was 2,400,000 acres. Lord Hillsborough opposed the movement and lost his ministry as a result. The location was on the Kentucky side of the Ohio River, but both sides were then known as the Ohio country.

[19] A complete and annotated translation of the *Description of the Soil* from French back into English is given in the *Ohio Archaeolog. and Hist. Publications*, Vol. iii, page 82.

any great extent, but D'Espremesnil and several others of the prime movers who remained in Paris were guillotined. Among these was Brissot de Warville, a sacrilegious demagogue, who won his first steps to notoriety by an attack on the Marquis de Chastelleux's *Travels in America*. But of all the writings, a pamphlet called the *Prospectus*,[20] issued by the Company of the 24, is given chief credit for starting an earnest sale of Scioto shares. The furore of interest in things American that Benjamin Franklin had occasioned before the Revolution was revived. The Scioto was a matter of discussion in the salons of the court and in the hovels of the canaille; disputes that began on the streets transferred themselves to the press, for there were not wanting parties of opposition who condemned the plan as visionary and unpatriotic. Caricatures were spread abroad to laugh the movement down. Camille Desmoulins wrote in vitrolic execration of the idea of transferring Frenchmen to the deserts of Ohio. No momentary outbursts of opponents could resist the persistent efforts of the agents of the promoters, and especially of Barlow, to attract the eyes of France to the wondrous land that west of the Alleghanies realized all the dreams of Telemachus. Barlow wrote to Duer in November, 1789, that "20,000 will be in those lands in 18 months." In the very next month his hopes and enthusiasm have so expanded that he was then counting on half a million going out to Ohio. "Five hundred thousand others," he says, "are preparing to leave." The news must have struck the American shores with consternation, when the population of all our American cities put together could not have reached half this figure. At the date of that letter, the furore for Ohio had not reached its apogee. One might wonder what Barlow would have written had he sent a reckoning of his expectations a few months later when the success of the affair seemed secured.

It would be fair to conjecture that this widespread knowledge of Ohio had some effect in arousing the generous minds of the French clergy to the needs of the savages and to the dangers to their own people in this new situation. But we are not left to conjecture. We know that the Sulpicians of Paris were pre-

[20] A rare copy of the *Prospectus* may be seen in the Van Wormer Library, Cincinnati.

pared to leave for Gallipolis. The Rev. Mr. Galais[21] had been watching the course of events and had turned the minds of all to the new colony on the Ohio. Before starting, however, they were advised by the Papal Nuncio in Paris to consult the Rev. John Carroll, who was just at this time in England, there to receive consecration as the first American bishop. They did so, with the result that he was able to divert their attention from Gallipolis to Baltimore.[22] The work these saintly men accomplished may be seen acknowledged in the *Sulpicians in the United States* by the late Charles G. Herbermann. His subject limits him to the good effected directly by the priests of St. Sulpice themselves. The work of those who came with them and at their suggestion is so far their work also and constitutes what might well be designated the *Gesta Dei per Francos* in the United States. For there were now added to Carroll's rapidly diminishing twenty-four priests the seven spiritual giants who were to fill all the American episcopal Sees, and the venerable F. C. Nagot, Michael Levadou. John Tessier, Anthony Garnier, Louis Cahier de Lavau, Francis Matignon, Gabriel Richard, Francis Ciquard, John Moranville, Donatien and John Olivier, J. F. Rivet, Michael Fournier, James Salmon, Peter Barriere, Wm. Barrel, Peter Babade, George de Perigny, Peter Joseph Didier, F. X. Brosius, M. Chicoisneau, Anthony Carles, and the seminarians, Badin, Tulloh, Floyd, De Montdesir, Caldwell, Perinault and Prince Gallitzin.

The editor of the *Catholic (Laity's) Directory* for 1822,[23] speaking of the labors of these men, says:

> O truly fortunate revolution in France, every true Catholic in this country may exclaim, which has brought us so many edifying and enlightened instructors! There is no part of the United States that cannot bear witness to their zeal and that should not be eternally grateful! Where is the youth of a liberal education, sincere piety and correct

[21] See *Am. Cath. Hist. Researches*, Vol. xiii, p. 41, for an early account of the coming of the Sulpicians, from a MS. in the Riggs Library of Georgetown University, in which Rev. Mr. Galais is given the credit of calling attention to the Ohio movement.

[22] The Sulpicians were not the only clergy who appealed to Carroll during his stay in England. The Rev. Mr. Brosius wrote to him at Lulworth Castle from Louvain. Brosius was as a friend of Mr. Demetrius Smith (Prince Gallitzin), and of De Barth, an investor in Scioto stock.

[23] *Catholic Laity's Directory*, 1822, p. 103.

> morals, who has not been formed by some one or more of the clergy of France, emigrants to this country? Where is the College or Catholic establishment that has not been or is not now under their direction? They have taught our youth, they have instructed and enlightened our people, they have directed thousands in the way of heaven . . . to say all in one word, . . . for these twenty-five years back, they have contributed—principally contributed—to render the Church in this country what it now is.

If, as is indisputable, it was not the Revolution in France, but the scheme of a French colony on the Ohio that led this goodly company to American shores rather than to any other part of the wide earth, it would be more just, if one could rise to the rhapsodical mood of this writer, to exclaim: "Oh, fortunate Scioto colony that brought America so many instructors, etc."

The Sulpicians who came in 1791, were not the first arrivals in America. There have been some confusing claims of priority, which are easily explained when it is recalled that three different French corporations sent delegations, in each of which there naturally was a band or company that was the first. Some individuals, too, very probably came before there was an organization of corporations in the mother country. But early in 1790, a fleet of worthless little vessels began to appear at Havre de Grace for the purpose of transporting the emigrants, who had been waiting impatiently there for weeks, and, in the case of some, for months to embark. What seems to have been the first boat[24] to set sail with a cargo exclusively destined for the Scioto went to the bottom of the Atlantic in mid-ocean. There was no collision nor any unusually violent storm, but the old hulk sprang a leak, and crew and passengers worked at the pumps until most gave up from exhaustion and the rest from despair. There was one bright feature about the catastrophe: not a few, who had not done so for years, began to pray, a happy omen for their life in the new surroundings. The prayer was heard. When every hope had been abandoned an English ship hove in sight and had time to take off every passenger, so that there was no loss even of a single life, though all the baggage went with the vessel to the bottom. Dr. Lemoine, who became one of the most highly

[24] The account of the crossing of the Atlantic follows Dr. Naret's story particularly.

esteemed men of the colony, was among the rescued. He lived to an old age in Washington, Pa. This party of survivors was landed at Amboy, New Jersey, whence they traveled by stage to Alexandria, Virginia, the point of rendezvous. Hither in the course of the months came safely to port *La Liberté*, the *Lady Washington*, the *Nautilus*, the *Scarborough*, the *Recovery*, and the *Patriot*, and other ships whose names have not been preserved for us, each bearing the high hopes of pioneers eager to penetrate and conquer the wilderness. Some interesting details of the coming of the *Patriot* have been remembered. It came up the Potomac on a glorious day and, as it passed Mount Vernon, where America's very recently chosen first president was living, such salvoes of greeting and of genuine gladness were given as could never be forgotten. Two hundred and fifteen emigrants left France on the *Patriot*, as they were counted at the gang-plank. The number that disembarked at Alexandria was 218. Two babes were born on the high seas, and François Valodin, who lived to be one of the wealthiest men in Ohio, where his descendants flourish today, was discovered on board, a stowaway. Ships came from Nantes and other ports as well as Havre, and colonists, individually and in groups, kept on coming through many months. John B. Romaine Bureau arrived in Ohio two years after the earliest settlers.

The revelations that came to them at Alexandria might have shaken stouter hearts. The Marietta colony, which was to have prepared everything for their coming, had itself been besieged during the winter, not by savages alone but by smallpox and by famine.[25] Want of food would continue until the present crops could be gathered in. There could be no question then of crossing the mountains until the fall of the year. A delay from May until October entailed unexpected expenditure; but this might have been cheerfully borne, owing to the willing helpfulness of those well provided, were it not for a more serious disappointment. They now learned that their titles to the Ohio lands were invalid. The Ohio Company had not been able to pay Congress according to its contract, and as a consequence that Company's title, and with it all claims of the Scioto Company, lapsed. Representative

[25] These hardships are named by Carpenter and Arthur, *Hist. of Ohio*, p. 97.

colonists were selected and deputed to visit the highest officers of the American government in New York city to obtain some redress or some compensatory benefit. They received kind words from men who had nothing else to offer. It must not be passed over that some writers understand the expression in Cutler's diary, "many of the first characters in America are interested in the Scioto Company," to signify that men in the very highest stations were stockholders. Though this was not the case, we may well believe that care was taken to secure their interest; for instance, in the maps of Ohio that were plentifully spread broadcast in Paris, the prospective first city of the great French colony is shown as if to be located opposite the mouth of the Kanawha River. This is not a good site, nor was it actually chosen; but it was adjacent to some 20,000 acres that belonged to a real estate dealer who even in those days thoroughly appreciated an unearned increment, and who could not but have been interested to see a thiriving city spring up in close proximity to his lordly estate. This dealer in real estate was indeed one of the first characters in America; he was President of the nation, when the French delegates reached New York city to lay their grievance before him. His letter of regret to them has been sacredly preserved. It is idle to speculate as to how the other immigrants employed their six months of expectancy at Alexandria. Did none of them surmise that in a very short time the beautiful city of Washington would rise as if by magic from the fields just before them across the Potomac? Did the clergy visit Bishop Carroll, forty miles away in Baltimore? Did they take an interest in the structure of Georgetown College, which should have been finding its way above the ground on the hill-top, towering over them just at that date!

Another inconvenience, which the long delay at Alexandria entailed, one mentioned with pain by various of the contemporary chroniclers, was the defection of the laborers, whom the colonizers had brought with them in goodly numbers. Labor was in great demand on all sides, and in the months of uncertainty as to whether the colony would ever reach its contemplated location it is not strange that the laborers betook themselves to one or other of the brighter opportunities that were offered them. Who were these laborers? The fact that Lally Tollendal, a celebrated

Irishman, and perhaps de Dillon also, were active members of the Company of the 24 calls attention to a page of the *Prospectus*, which is not without its surprise. This page gives us an itemized estimate of the cost of bringing laborers to the colony; and the strange feature is that these laborers are not supposed to be obtained in France, but in Ireland.[26] Agents collecting laborers in Ireland will cost $2,400, and the passage of 4,000 persons from Ireland to Virginia will require an expenditure of $6,400, and from Virginia to Ohio, almost three times this figure.

This *Prospectus*, from which we have been quoting, was the norm of operation and was followed as far as possible in other details. Laborers were brought to Alexandria who seem not to have been intimately associated with the French. It is certain that the large Irish Catholic immigration to America began about this time. Was this its beginning? It may give substance to a theory that such was the case to note that at that period there came to America a man who might well have served as the French agent in Ireland, a man whose name is as sacred in Catholic memory in Missouri as any of her great bishops, John Mullanphy. He had been in the Irish brigade in the French service with Lally Tollendal. There is a family tradition[27] that he brought a colony of Irishmen to America. The tradition located them at Florissant, Missouri, near his home. But the Florissant Church Records, that have been preserved perfectly since the days of Dom Didier (of our colony) down to date, fail to show their presence. Still, the tradition is too distinct and definite to have been without foundation; persons are pointed out who are descendants of the colony. The evidence will not warrant a claim that Mullanphy was part of the Gallipolis movement, yet the page of the *Prospectus* opens a field for interesting investigation. It may be mentioned as a digression that Mullanphy followed the footsteps of the French in selecting his various homes, and that he was finally connected historically with one of the most prominent families of the "24." When St. Vrain, a son of DeLuziere, had failed time and time again in the American courts to secure a recognition of his title to an

[26] Bedote copies the whole page in which the Irish laborers are mentioned.

[27] See Lecture by Rev. H. B. MacMahon, S.J., *Mullanphy*, in the *Church Progress* (St. Louis), February 22 and two following issues, 1906.

immense estate in Missouri, he sold his rights to the land for about two cents an arpent to Mullanphy. This title was shortly afterwards recognized by the courts as valid, and Mullanphy became in consequence Missouri's first millionaire. He managed his great wealth as God's steward, and the high encomium that Bishop Carroll gives him in a letter to Bishop Troy in 1794[28] would have described him equally well at the hour of his death.

Inducements were held out not merely to the laborers but to the colonists themselves during their stay in Virginia to find homes elsewhere, and individuals at intervals yielded to the inviting prospects; but new arrivals from France kept their numbers from diminishing notably, so that there were still about eight hundred ready to march at the word of command in October. The journey across the Alleghanies was not a jaunt; still, owing to their numbers, it was free from Indian attack, and for this reason Frenchmen from Illinois returning home from eastern markets, Germans (probably Moravians), and Americans going to various Kentucky settlements, joined them. Only one accident occurred: a wagon rolled over the mountain side, and Madam Picard, one of the occupants, was seriously injured. The vanguard reached the Ohio River at Wellsburg, where one of the party indited a letter back to France—a wild apostrophe to liberty. Chateaubriand,[29] who came over with the Sulpicians, tells us how he leaped and screamed in the glow of liberty in the same wilderness a few years later. The adventurers sailed down the river in what were called arks. A contingent remained for a time as guests of the Marietta colonists at Marietta and at Fort Harmar, but the majority continued without stop to the mouth of the Chickamagua Creek, where a stockade of log houses had been built by the Scioto Company for them. It was such a pioneer camp as we see pictured everywhere in early western annals, the life of Father Nerinckx, or that of Boone or Lincoln. How eight hundred men, some of them with their families, managed to live in so small a compass, is almost inexplicable. That a large proportion of them remained in these confined quarters during several winters, without a conflagration, is a striking commentary on their prudence and care.

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[28] The letter to Bishop Troy is in the *Am. Cath. Hist. Researches*, xiv, p. 17.

[29] See CHATEAUBRIAND, *Memoirs*, Vol. i, p. 218.

The Count de Barth de Walbach and his associates held themselves as a separate body and were very much distressed to find that a distinct settlement had not been prepared for them. They continued their course down the Ohio to where the city of Portsmouth[30] now stands and were surveying this site for a distinctively Catholic colony when the appearance, on the one hand, of General Harmar's defeated U. S. Army and of a hostile band of savages on the other, discouraged the project. The spot they had chosen was so exposed to savage attacks that it was known to the Kentuckians as the Slaughter House. The count had made special efforts before leaving Europe to secure the services of the Priests of the Christian Doctrine[31] as directors of education, but without success. The failure is the more to be regretted for the reason that this worthy Congregation was five years later utterly extinguished by the Revolution. At this spot, according to Lezay-Marnesia, the sociologist of the party, a grand cathedral ought to be erected, a hospital under the management of the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul opened, a printing press set in operation with M. Monvel as editor of the journal of the west, and a university established at once.

Almost the first act of the main body, who had landed at the stockade prepared for them, was the naming of their future city. They agreed to call it the City of the Gaul—Gallipolis.[32] It was

[30]This was in every way the wiser choice of site. In the first place it was not on the Ohio Company's land and consequently a second purchase would have insured possession. Then it was a strategic point. The Indians were holding it as such now. It commanded the way to Lake Erie as well as up and down the Ohio. These Indians, as a matter of fact, proved friendly to the French, whom as Laforge says (*Ohio Archaeol. and Hist. Pub.*, xxvi, p. 48), they called their fathers. But when Malartic and others were discovered fighting with the Americans and trying to kill the Indians, it was too much to expect of the latter that they should not retaliate.

[31]The Gallipolis Papers show (Vol. iii, A., p. 176) that on January 31, 1790, Marnezia and DeBarth were deputed to petition the Superior of the Priests of the Christian Doctrince for some of his clergy for the colony. On February 2, they report at length that the Superior cannot promise priests on such short notice, but will try to secure some other for whom he can vouch.

[32]The naming may have been actually done somewhere en route; this is the first time the name is mentioned. The map used by the Scioto Company in Paris, located a city opposite the mouth of the Kanawha River, which is 4 miles northeast of Gallipolis. This was designated Première Ville. On this map, Marietta is written Marianne. Marie Antoinette, in whose honor Marietta was named, no doubt to please prospective French land purchasers, was probably waning in popularity in Paris when the map was made.

not till that moment that the name we have been using all through this paper came into existence. Forthwith they began to unload their effects and crowd them into the narrow limits of their home. Some trunks and boxes were destined never to be opened in Ohio, but not so those that contained their musical instruments. The night of their arrival was celebrated with a grand ball. The Puritans, who came from Marietta to show the way and those who had just built the lodgings, were scandalized by the frivolity of the Frenchmen and laughed at the childish buoyancy, a laugh that rings down the pages of Ohio story ever since. But it was some accomplishment to make the Puritan laugh. His heart opened and his fanaticism died of exposure. A peculiar gentle kindliness of manner that endures to this day hangs about Gallipolis, a kind of aroma that was brought from France with the smouldering embers of the fire of medieval charity, warming, comforting, and attractive. None have been able to resist it. The Spirit of God may yet breathe across these ashes and light there the torch of faith.

It would be proper to detail the ways of their busy lives up to the time when all their peculiar manners and customs yielded to the fashions of the other multiplying river-towns. These things have been dwelt upon at length by several writers—never well, but intelligibly. The division of the land, with the great common field as of first importance; their distribution of the public labors and their various private occupations; their elections of justices of the peace and other magistrates; their farming, stock raising, lumbering, salt-boiling, shipbuilding, their hunting of small and of large game; their attempts at mining, bee-keeping, vine-dressing, and domestication of the wild turkey; peculiarities of dress of men as well as of women; the religious and civil celebrations have been dwelt upon at length; but their personalities are more worthy of attention.

Nowhere in all the annals of American colonies is there offered a sharper contrast of light and shade in fact or in symbol than here, where old nobles and counts with their gentle ladies, right out of the most brilliant court the world has ever known, are translated, as if by some bad magic, to the uncouth haunts of savage men and beasts. There are not indeed any thieves or murderers among them, if one except the Count Malartic, a

professional warrior. No doors need locks. There are to be no deeds of violence. Lawsuits and quarrels, yes; these people are not all saints. One may find among them a specimen of that most odious degeneracy, the ex-priest, Fromentin,[33] one day to become a member of the United States Senate representing the State of Louisiana. The yellow fever will sweep him and his paramour in one day before the court that has a right to judge. There, too, is Von Schriltz and his reputed wife, who will leave an illegitimate progeny to carry his shame down the ages. These bring out by contrast the worth and purity of their surroundings. To the Americans, the greatest wonder in the colony is Monsieur Duthiel, a farmer who always insists on giving too much of his wheat in every barter lest he might get the better of any of his neighbors. Death itself will stand in awe of Jean Baptiste Bertrand, who even in the days of famine will observe all the fasts of the Church, and by blandishments and by corporal punishments alike will see to it that even his grown offspring remain true to their faith. He will survive all the other men of Gallipolis, reaching the age of ninety-four in 1855. Standing winsomely beneath the arches of the wide wilderness, one might hear the sweet Madamoiselle Vimont humming the strains of sacred anthems she used to sing in the grand old Notre Dame of Paris; here is an Evangeline for the poets. Little boys and girls of tenderest years, playing in the bushes, meet at times the glaring eyes of the Shawnees or of the wild cats; here are babes in the woods for the painters. What is needed, what we do not find, is an individual, a man towering above all the rest; there is no hero, where all are brave. They stood together and time has levelled down their graves to a common surface. But what with good and bad, civilized and savage, wise and frivolous, age and infancy, English and French, the romancer has materials for a story that, by keeping close to the truth, will one day resurrect the old French city and make it the term of pilgrimages for their descendants scattered today from end to end of America like leaves that are blown by the blasts of October.

[33] Fromentin's career is told briefly in the Appleton *Cyc. of Biog.*, and at length in *Cath. Hist. Researches*, Vol. xviii. It is a curious commentary on the politics of those days that this man, notoriously false to his principles, an ex-priest and ex-Jesuit, should have been chosen to the position of United States Senator.

The dispersal began early. Enticement to other settlements drew many away; fear of the Indians, now on the war-path, was no idle fancy, and contributed to all the other motives for departure; but the cause usually ascribed for the general dissipation of the colony was that even after they had paid a second time for their land their titles were still insecure, in fact, invalid. It is interesting to see how they penetrated at once into the remotest part of America. Little knots of them appear on the map from the Atlantic seaboard to civilization's last outposts in the Trans-Mississippi, and from Detroit and Canada to and across the Mexican border.

New towns springing up on either bank of the Ohio attracted some; especially Symmes's prosperous settlement, which we now call Cincinnati. Here B. J. de le Ture made his home, and Menessier began nearby an extensive experiment on vine-culture, for which he asked congressional aid. The county seat of Bourbon County, Kentucky, changed its name to Paris that it might seem more homelike, and here the Vimonts removed for a time. Jacquemine, LaViolette, and Marchand, with several of lesser note, attached themselves to the French colony at the Ohio Rapids (Louisville). The Indians carried some as captives to Detroit, like the child Joseph von Bebber, who may not really have been of our colony but living merely near it, and Malcher, the silversmith, who was surely of the colony. Trade carried others, like Audrain and Desnoyers. But they heard there the liquid tongue of dear old France, and none cared to return to the banks of the Ohio.

Dr. Lemoine settled at Washington, Pennsylvania. Marnesia bought 400 acres in the same state, and, to be another Romulus, he called the place Asylum. The name is still to be seen on the larger maps, on the Susquehanna River, about 10 miles below Towanda. Hither he brought his following, a large part of the colonists of the Company of the 24. Among them were the DuPonts, said to be the ancestors of the present New Jersey family of explosive fame. He established a pottery, and he wrote to D'Espremesnil to come to Pennsylvania and be rich and happy. The count did not accept his invitation, though it would surely have lengthened his days, for he fell beneath the axe of the executioner shortly after. Others aplenty heeded

Marnesia's calls. Refugees from the insurgent negroes of San Domingo came; and from France the Viscount de Noailles, the Marquis Antoine Omer Talon, and the Prince de Talleyrand took up residence on the Susquehanna. The future king, Louis Philippe, visited the place in 1796 and found it a hamlet of about 200 inhabitants. Several Catholic writers have touched on the sad story of Asylum,[34] yet none of them seem to have suspected that it was but an offshoot of the Gallipolis colony, until Herbermann made this clear beyond question. Almost every bad element in the Ohio settlement seems to have gathered about De Talleyrand, and an air of irreligion so enveloped the Asylum colony that the Catholic writers uniformly mention it with shame and sorrow. The notes of a dirge strike the reader in the concluding lines of DeCourcy's account of the once-Catholic families that gathered here; "and among the descendants of these at the present day (1857)," he says, "there is not a single Catholic."

The story has been made altogether too tragic. There was much good at Asylum. Here, among others less conspicuous for their rank and shining virtues, lived Captain John Keating, of one of the Irish regiments which fought under the banner of France for American independence. It might be debated whether his eminent worth ought not obliterate the memories of his tawdry fellow-townsmen. It will not, however, be discussed here; for he came from San Domingo and does not belong to our subject. But the Abbé Carles, who does belong to the Gallipolis pilgrims, also lived at Asylum and ministered faithfully there to the faithful. It is not the presence of these two and their adherents that wholly brightens the situation. The encouraging fact—which was overlooked by the writers just referred to—is that every one of the French families belonging to the Asylum colony returned

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[34] Griffin's article in Vol. xviii of his *Researches*, and a monograph by J. W. Ingham, *Asylum*, published at Towanda, 1916, cover the matter of this paragraph. Ingham says, page 82: "When Napoleon assumed power, all Frenchmen were invited to return. . . . The postman who brought the glad news shouted the tidings. . . The colonists were rapturous with joy. . . . Men hugged and kissed each other to the profound astonishment of the American beholders. . . . Most commenced making preparations to leave. . . . . They did not all go at once . . . but as fast as they could dispose of their property.

"Only two (Mr. Homet and Laporte) remained at Asylum. Mr. Lefevre moved across the river to Lime Hill."

to France when Napoleon offered the return of their estates to the refugees. There were three men, already married to non-Catholic wives before the issuance of Napoleon's edict, who remained behind, and it was accordingly among the descendants of these three that DeCourcy failed to find a single Catholic. Few, if any of these, had ever had an opportunity to know the Catholic faith. Their descendants today treasure the recollection of their Catholic ancestry, and so recently as 1916 they erected a tablet in their honor.

Washington's Secretary of War, General Knox, went into the land speculation and with Duer and others acquired an immense stretch of territory in Maine. A large contingent from Gallipolis found their way thither, where, if we may believe a letter of one of their leaders, Bancel de Cougoulen, every kind of success began to smile upon their undertaking. Some became whalers, some lumbermen, some had fine farms with cattle and rich harvests. Fish was abundant, beef and even venison was cheap. Monvin, who was to have been editor of the newspaper at Portsmouth, Ohio, was sent by Knox to search for minerals on the Waldo estates. It is to be noted that it was at this period that the Abbé Ciquard began his long apostolate in these regions.

Count Joseph de Barth, Baron de Walbach, found many homes after leaving Ohio, but finally settled down in New Hampshire. It is difficult to follow him closely, but wherever he appears there is so true a devotion to duty to God and man in his views and actions that it is impossible he made no impress of Catholicity on the places where he sojourned. He left two sons who rose to prominence: the one is known in ecclesiastical history as Father DeBarth, who twice refused the mitre of Philadelphia, yet ruled that See as its Vicar-General for six years; the other is known in secular history as General Walbach, who rendered distinguished service to the country of his adoption during the War of 1812. Sarah Brownson, in her life of Prince Gallitzin thinks the prince was instrumental in bringing Father DeBarth to America. As DeBarth's father had been in America two years before the supposed inducement, the fact is likely transposed.

We mentioned the Abbé Carles, when speaking of Asylum. When that colony returned almost en masse to France, the Abbé remained behind in America. In the writings of Bishop England,

we read (iii, pp. 252–4) that the commencement of the Church in Georgia is to be dated to the coming of the Abbé Carles to a little group of Maryland Catholics which was, as it were, insulated from the currents of Catholic life in a colony about 50 miles from Augusta. The Abbé continued to labor in various parts of that State, until, broken down in health, he returned to France in 1819.

More powerful and no less effective inducements called the Frenchmen of Ohio to the south and west. The Marquis of Maison Rouge[35] obtained from the Spanish government a right to bring thirty families from Gallipolis to the Washita River in the northeastern part of the present State of Louisiana. Each white family (at least two persons) able to engage in agriculture was to receive 400 acres of land and $200. Their baggage and implements, moreover, were to be brought down to Louisiana at the king's expense. Carpenters, blacksmiths and tradesmen were offered similar terms.

Philip Neri, Baron of Bastrop, a Prussian, was given a grant similar to that of the Baron, and not far distant. The town of Bastrop, county seat of Morehouse Parish, Louisiana, recalls his efforts. He was not altogether successful, and when Louisiana was sold to the United States in 1803, here moved to that part of Mexico which, owing in part to his action, we today call the State of Texas. For he not only brought his own colony with him, but he enabled Moses Austin to penetrate thither and remain, thus opening the dyke for the flood of Americans who followed. There is a Bastrop city and county, just south of Austin, the capital city of Texas. The planting of this heretical seed in the good soil of Catholic Spain ought scarcely to hold an honest place in the listing of the blessings sprinkled over America by the scattering of the Ohio emigrants. At the time of its occurrence and during the consequent war of '47, it would have seemed an evil wholly; but looking at the happy condition of Catholicity in Texas today as compared with its miserable plight across the Rio Grande, no apology need be given for the inclusion of Texas in our catalogue of regions blessed by the diaspora of Ohio.

[35] The *U. S. State Papers: Public Lands*, Vol. ii, p. 774, have splendid maps of the grants of Bastrop and Maison Rouge. These properties led to endless litigation.

More excuse is required for naming Illinois; for, although several writers mention this State, and particularly the old French city of Kaskaskia, as a haven for the newly arrived Frenchmen, disappointed with their Ohio home; yet a close inspection of the records of this State fails to disclose any of them. But a Kaskaskian, Barthelmi Tardiveau, took great interest in Gallipolis, and a letter[36] that he addressed in summer of 1792 to Count d'Aranda, the Prime Minister of Spain, concerns us so closely that it cannot be passed over. He says Spain has always been desirous of filling up this western country, but now there is a special urgency in erecting a barrier against the influx of bold Americans. Their rapid development in the west is alarming. Separated, he sapiently adds, from foreigners and especially from one another, they are docile and submissive to authority, and they are the ones to trouble themselves least about their independence. But let them form a body, although comparatively small, then, that instant, they desire to take possession of the reins of government. Coming to the point, he informs the Prime Minister that there is a body of Frenchmen on the Ohio River—the "Bella Ribera" he calls it—whose artisans and farmers are scattered and whose funds are being wasted; they have asked his advice about establishing a state on the Mississippi opposite the mouth of the Missouri. They plan to occupy so much territory that they may form of themselves one of the states of the United States, but they will not admit a single American into the place. This will require a population of 60,000 persons, and Tardiveau desires the Count d'Aranda to pay his expenses while he travels through Germany, Flanders, and the Swiss cantons collecting the scattered Royalists of France for this State. Of course, nothing came of so bizarre an idea; but it is interesting as the first outlining of state lines in what is now Illinois, and it belongs to our story as the preparatory step towards what proved a very important offshoot of Gallipolis.

We have another letter of Tardiveau, written the following spring, that tells us there remain at Gallipolis only one hundred families of the former eight hundred; he wants to bring them to New Bourbon, in what is now Missouri. He asks for Dr. Lemoine,

[36] For Tardiveau's letters, see Houck's *Spanish Regime*, I, pp. 360 and 390. There is a mine of Catholic history in these volumes.

by name. Many persons in France desire to send out colonists, we are told. Among them are the Count de Clermont Tonnerre, Mounier, Count de Lally Tollendal. the Bishop of Nancy, DeBeyerle, DeBarth, the Countess of Tewe, and the Marquis of Marnesia. Moreover, the Prince of Lambese, the Duke de Noue, the Count de Montier, and the Marquis of Brehan may also be inclined to promote the city of New Bourbon. This letter bears two other signature besides that of Tardiveau; those of de Hault de Lassus and of Peter Audrain. A county in Missouri bears Audrain's name today, and only a little post town that of DeLassus, although he and his sons occupy the most conspicuous positions in those regions during the next decade of years.

New Bourbon became a reality, and was in 1798 fourth in population of the cities of Upper Louisiana. San Luis—men, women, children and slaves—counted 975 souls in the official census; Santa Genoveva, 773; San Carlos, 405; and Nouvelle Bourbon, 383. The Spanish Governor of Louisiana at the time was Carondelet, a Fleming, and consequently a fellow-countryman, if not a relative, of DeLassus. He bestowed every possible consideration on DeLassus, whose ancestors, he knew, had been the hereditary mayors of Hainault for centuries. He formed New Bourbon into a separate province of the government and made the newcomer its civil and military commandant. An effort was made to bring all the others of the remaining population of Gallipolis to New Bourbon, and a document at San Ildefonso tells who were particularly desirable: Vanderbenden, and DeRomine, Captain of the Royal Corps of Engineers; DeHebecourt; Dr. Petit; Gervais, an excellent farmer with a fortune; Menager, like the preceding; Le Drot, farmer and grape grower; Didier, a farmer, brother of the pastor at Florissant; Vacz, a Fleming, a watchmaker; Saugrain, a mineralogist; Berthelot, a distiller and cultivator. What is added is especially notable, because an attempt at wit on the part of the traveler Brackenridge has been taken too seriously by subsequent writers, leaving the impression that the French in Ohio were an impracticable and improvident class.

The document says: "It is to be observed that the rest of the inhabitants are artisans, workmen, or day-laborers, and ac-

customed to the cultivation of the land; almost all have cattle and goods necessary for a living." In 1799, the inhabitants of New Bourbon made a patriotic contribution to the King of Spain—a kind of Liberty Loan demonstration—and in the list of contributors, besides such names as Tisseron, Tonellier, Chevalier, and DeGuire, we find also Donahoe, Hart, Madden and Healy. It cannot be said with certainty that these particular persons came from Ohio. None of the titled personages named by Tardiveau appeared, but Jean René Guiho, Lord of Klegand, came from Nantes, and Jacques de Mun, Captain of Dragoons, came from San Domingo. The late Count De Mun of Paris was of his family, and other descendants are today leaders in St. Louis society.

When France opened her doors to welcome back her fugitive royalists, New Bourbon was deserted so completely that its site today is known only to the antiquarian. It is an open field about four miles southeast of Ste. Genevieve. DeLassus's sons remained in America. The maps of Illinois, New Mexico, and Colorado carried, at least for a time, the name of one of them, St. Vrain. It fell to the lot of the eldest of them, Carlos, to make the transfer of Upper Louisiana to the United States at the time of the Louisiana Purchase; he is consequently the most conspicuous figure in the most historic day—the day of the three flags—in the history of Missouri. He was worthy of his prominence. He made a desperate effort to secure the all-too-easy-going habitants in the possession of their land before the onrush of Yankee land sharks, but he was not fully successful. The attempt cost him at the time much reproach, but it has made his memory honorable to all who know his work, and almost tenderly dear to these French who are still in Missouri.

New Madrid, Missouri, was far more successful in attracting the Ohio adventurers than New Bourbon. Before the close of the first six months[37] after their arrival in America, a contingent had taken up their abode in the Spanish city. Records show that there was a continued influx. Undoubtedly the most val-

[37] The names of the first arrivals from Gallipolis at New Madrid, as recorded in the Spanish document, are Claudio Margarita, Jayme Lafonse, Louis Dode, Ambrosio Noel, Claudio Noel Cousin, John Luis Collet and his wife and child. Houck, *Spanish Regime*, i, p. 329.

uable arrival was Pierre Antoine Laforge. He had been a Jesuit scholastic up to the time of the Papal suppression of his Order. Released from his vows, he married a valiant woman, who was in all things worthy of him. Their descendants have been a precious asset to Missouri; they have been lovers of education: the occasions have been rare, since the inception of St. Louis University, in which the names of some of them have not been on the roster of students; they have represented the New Madrid County in the State Legislature, almost half the time since Missouri became a state. One of them, William Dawson, lately represented his district in Congress. They are all faithful to the faith. Doctor Dawson, brother of the M. C., has eleven children; his cousin, James Shead, has almost that many boys. The old French blood is not dying out.

But of all cities in the Spanish jurisdiction the one most blessed by the accessions from Gallipolis was St. Louis. Two parties that came hither might deserve separate articles for themselves. The first of these is Dom Didier, the pastor of Gallipolis, and his brother, with his family; the other, Anthony Saugrain, the mineralogist, with his wife and her people, the Michaux, relatives of the famous Doctor Guillotine. Saugrain has been the subject of several monographs,[38] all of which run into at least one error. He visited the site of Gallipolis two years previous to the date of the formation of the Gallipolis colony. While on the Ohio River, he was attacked by the savages, his companions were slain, and he himself escaped after frightful suffering. All the writers referred to make the object of this expedition of his merely scientific investigation. But it is perfectly clear from Mathias James O'Conway's diary[39] that Saugrain was even then interested in securing land titles. Saugrain in St.

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[38] For instance: *Dr. Saugrain's Note Book*, 1788, by Eugene Bliss, Worcester, Mass., 1909, reprinted from the *Proceedings of the Amer. Antiquarian Society*, Oct., 1908. Also, *The First Scientist of the Mississippi Valley* by W. V. Byers, 1903. Again, *Antoine François Saugrain DeVigni* by N. P. Dandridge, in the *Ohio Archaeological and Hist. Pub.*, xv, p. 193.

[39] O'Conway's meetings with Saugrain are recounted in Dr. L. F. Flick's article in *Records of the Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. x, p. 271. This O'Conway document is thoroughly reliable. Why should it have been hidden from history that Saugrain's first visit here was a scheme for colonizing?

Louis became surgeon of the Spanish troops. He left a numerous progeny; one of his sons, born before the Louisiana Purchase, was alive in 1904, when St. Louis was celebrating the centenary of that event. The venerable Madame Saugrain, recently guest-mistress at the Convent of the Sacred Heart in St. Louis, was of his family.

On July 21, 1792, we find a baptismal entry in the Records of St. Charles Borromeo's Church in the city of St. Charles, Mo., which begins: "I, Peter Joseph Didier, Benedictine Religious of the congregation of St. Maur, of the Royal Abbey of St. Denis, of the Order of St. Benedict, missionary pastor." This is the shepherd of our Ohio flock. A few days later, he begins the church records of the parish of St. Ferdinand, Florissant, and in 1794 his field takes in the city of St. Louis. There for five years he ministered faithfully, beloved of all good men, until his death. Why did he abandon his needy flock at Gallipolis? Or, did he abandon it at all? More than half had gone before him. The old-time scriptural shepherd went before his sheep. If the flock had followed Didier to Missouri, they would have found there green pastures and running waters in abundance for their bodily wants, and his rod and his staff would have comforted their souls. Everything indicates that he was a well-beloved pastor of his triple fold. During his incumbency the church in St. Louis was not large enough to hold the crowds that came to Mass. He died about the end of October, 1799; and despite the fact that he scarcely ever signed his name without indicating his Benedictine affiliation, the civil officer from whom we learn of his death speaks of him as the Franciscan P. J. Didier; and St. Louis's best historian, Scharf, tells us he was a Jesuit: Didier, a Jesuit priest, though not a physician, used to make simples and teas for his poor parishioners.

His brother, John Baptist Didier, was for many years one of the most active spirts of the city. Although he was a jeweler, he did not lose his interest in real estate, and he was an organizer of the city's first fire brigade. His honesty was proverbial; he was territorial treasurer of Missouri, and held that position—the first one to do so—in the State of Missouri. The jeweler's only child, Josephine, was one of the belles of old St. Louis; she was married in 1811 to Hubert Guion, a name historically distin-

guished in St. Louis equally for its forebears and its descendants.[40]

There were two De Romines in Missouri at this time; but it cannot be shown conclusively that either was the Royal Engineer. But it is worth noting that whereas, according to the story made popular by Brackenridge, the whole colony was so impractical that there were none among them who knew how to cut down a tree, we find as a matter of fact that there were first class engineers among them. Vanderbenden, for instance, was employed by the Spanish government to construct the fortifications of St. Louis when this city was endangered.

It would be too long to mention all the interesting and important characters that Gallipolis sent to Missouri; but there was one who came with the Ohio colony to the west that must not be passed over. This was Daniel Boone. Cheated of his land claim at Booneville, Kentucky, he retired to a spot opposite Gallipolis. He used to hunt on the Racoon Creek in Ohio with Vanderbenden; but when he learned that his friends were starting for Missouri, he determined to accompany them. He was welcomed, and given a large tract of land at the Femme Osage. Was Boone a Catholic? Collins, the Kentucky historian, says he was of the family of the Maryland Catholic pioneers. The Boones in Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri are largely Catholic today. The first baptismal registry of Kansas City, Missouri, contains the names of grandchildren of Boone's; they are not mentioned as converts. Moreover, according to the Spanish laws in force at the time Boone came to the west, property could not be transferred to anyone who failed to swear that he was a Catholic. An exception was made for the Morgan colony in the southeastern part of the state—but Boone's land was far away from those parts. His claim was contested later, but in the contest no mention was made of his having failed to take this oath.

But let us go back to Ohio. Of the 7,000 persons[41] who left France and of the eight hundred heads of families who in various

[40] This Hubert Guion's father was the first white male child born in St. Louis. The daughter of Hubert Guion and Josephine Didier was married to Judge Wilson Primm. On his mother's side, the judge was a grandson of Maria Rose de Vial Ponda, who was born in New Mexico in 1726, and whose mother was also a native of Taos—an old American family!

[41] This estimate of SPALDING, *Sketches of Kentucky*, p. 62, seems to me a fair calculation.

ways and times reached Gallipolis, we have accounted for a fair proportion in a general way. An Ohio magazine gives the names of one hundred and sixty-seven heads of families,[42] but does not list the DeBarth followers, the Asylum secession, or any members of the earlier exoduses. Some of them stood their ground, hope burning eternal in their breasts through all the trials and fears. Perhaps they stood more firm because it was a fight to do so. When the Indian wars were over in 1795, a high tide of immigration moved down the Ohio valley, bringing trade and prosperity and the promise of a new era. New prospectors

[42] Arranged in alphabetical order these heads or families were: Aiglemont, Prieux; Allrein, Etienne; Ancil, Jean B.; Anthiaume, Jean B.; Armand, Benjamin; Auger, Jacques; Autrin, Jean; Avelin, Catherine; Bana, Claude; Baredot, Caesar; Bastede —; Batterelle, Simon; Belliere, Jean C.; Bergeret, Frederick; Bergnen, Laurent; Berthe, Louis; Berthelot, Claude; Berthelot, Matthieu; Berthelot (Senior); Bidon, Pierre; Bourgougnat, François; Bremiere, Firmin; Buznet, Jean; Cadot, Claude; Caille, I. Guion; Carteren, Francois; Chabot, Pierre; Chalot, George; Chandivert, Etienne; Chandivert, Pierre; Chanterelle, Michael; Charpentierre, Antoine; Cherrin, Jean; Chevalier, Alex; Chevreaux, Sigisbert; Chillard, Michael; Clavet, Madam; Colat, Jean Louis; Colat, Jean Louis; Colinet —; Coupin, Claude; Coupin, —; Courtier, Jean; Cranzat, Michael; Cuif, Remy; Daliere, Marie; Damervalle, Joseph; Darveau, François; Dazet, Joseph; Dehafosse, Thoncy; D'Hebecourt, De la Baume; De la Bouye, Louis; Desnoyers, Jean; DeViguement, Minguet; De Vachet, Winant; Devanne, Jean Louis; D'llmee, Sigismund; Droz; Duchallard, Jean B.; Du Bois, Claude; Duc, Antoine; Duclos, Brice; Duduit, Guillaume; Dupligny, Claude; Dupont, Joseph; Dupont, Marin; Durand, François; Duthiel, François; Duthiel, Pierre; Ferard, Jean; Ferard, Pierre; Foulon, Jean A.; Frère, Alex; Frère, Eloy; Gervais; Genet; Ginet, Jean B.; Goiyon, Joseph; Grandjean, Jean F.; Grouet; Guibert, Pierre L.; Guillot, Jean M.; Hammer, Jean M.; Hedouin, Nicholas; Hingston, Nicholas; Imbert, Jean Louis; Jacquemin, Antoine; Jacquemin, Antoine; Lafellard, Pierre; L'Anguette, François; LaCaisse, Madam; Laforge, Pierre A.; Laforge; Laperouse, Jean P.; Laurent, Jean B.; LeClar; LeClerc, Augustin; LeClerc, Pierre Louis; LeClerc; Lecke, Peter; Lefevre, Emille; Lefort, Maximin; LeHuillier, Pierre A.; Lemoyne, Sr.; Lemoyne, Jr.; Magnier, Pierre; Maguet, Pierre; Maguet, fils; Malcher, François P; Malcher; Maldant, Louis; Marchand; Maret, Charles Vaux; Matry, Pierre; Maufelit, Caesar; Mazure, Michael; Menager, Claude; Mennessier; Michaud; Minguey, père; Minguey, fils; Morrell, Claude; Mouvel; Naudet, Claude J.; Noel, Antrox; Pamar, Humbert; Parmentier, Jean B.; Patin, François; Pellison, Jean; Perot, Pierre F.; Petit, Doctor; Petit, Jean; Petitjean, Jacques; Picard, François; Pingard, Jean Aug.; Pithon, Philip Aug; Porquier, Antoine; Pradel, Julien; Prieur, Antoine; Quartel, François; Quelet, Nicholas; Quetee, Jean B.; Renouard, Jacques; Richards, Pierre M.; Regnier, Jean; Roublot, Louis; Rouby, Antoine; Rouilly, Jean; Roussell, Alex; Rowe, John; Sald; Sarazin, Abel; Saugrain, Antoine; Serre, Pierre, Soudry, Charles; Taillem; Thevnin, Nicholas; Thomas, Pierre; Valot, François; Valls, Jean G.; Valten, Francis; Valton; Valot; Vialett, Louis; Vibert, Antoine; Viment, Louis A.; Violette, Louis A.; Vissinier, Nich; Von Schriltz, Louis Victor; Von Schriltz, John Louis; Willermy, Etienne.

survey the lands; new speculators in mines and farms and forests are formed in the east. The old investors, especially in Massachusetts, look eagerly now for long deferred profits in their Scioto investments. Complaints from Gallipolis, whisperings rather, of an injustice done there, jar the harmony. A general benignity towards the French pervades the atmosphere. French clergy are kindly received even in Boston. Congress passes an act giving a tract of land to the French on the Ohio, the French Grant. There were found just 84 persons over 18 years of age to claim a share in the gift. A few of these moved off to the grant, in Scioto County; but most of them sold their claims for a song, so that others than those named in the bond made money from the congressional generosity.

Spiritually, Gallipolis seemed destitute after the departure of Father Didier; but this was not the case so much as has been claimed. It was on a much frequented route of travel. Father Badin visited them on his way to Kentucky and baptized 40 babies. The people besought him with tears to remain. He looked upon them as thoroughly irreligious. He was very young then. It may be doubted whether in his long and fruitful service of the Lord, he ever again found so ripe and rich a harvest. Other clerical wayfarers going down the Ohio attended their spiritual needs for long years; Bishop Du Bourg being among the number. After Father Didier, their next resident pastor seems to have been Father LaFont,[43] whose good fortune in the Louisiana lottery injured his zeal. Nor was this original garden fruitless in gifts to the Church. To name but one: a few years ago Madeleine Vinton Dahlgren was known to the whole world as one of the brightest ornaments of the Church in America. She was born in Gallipolis, the granddaughter of John Baptiste Romaine Bureau, one of the early settlers. Others of his descendants in the old home site are worthy of him still. It is interesting to note how deeply beneath the surface the warm blood of France keeps running, as may be seen in the case of a grandson of Mrs. Dahlgren, John Vinton Dahlgren, in whose name nothing appears to indicate French parentage, yet who caught the call of the blood

[43] The only mention I have ever seen of Father LaFont is in SIBLEY, "*The French 500.*"

at once and was among the very first American volunteers in the service of France in the present struggle.

The thesis, which the writer finds almost unconsciously threading this account—namely, that the Gallipolis colony proved a source of wonderful and widespread blessings to the nation and to the Church—might be proved briefly by an enumeration of the men and women, scions of Gallipolis who have been prominent in the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the land. But to gather these in would be an impossible undertaking. Nothing can show this better, perhaps, than the fact that the present paper was practically concluded when the writer learned that an officer of St. Louis University whom he is meeting daily is a grandson of Pierre Desnoyers,[44] whom we mentioned as having been drawn by trade from Gallipolis to Detroit. Desnoyers, who lived to the age of 107, was the first treasurer of Michigan as Didier was of Missouri. At least one priest in Canada and a judge are among his progeny. Similarly, it was no less a surprise to the writer to learn that the Rev. W. B. Rogers, recently president of St. Louis University, was a great-grandson of Vimont of Gallipolis.

External events shape the course of the outward existence of the Church, secular agitations deeply affect the careers of her children, and it is strange how things unrelated, distant, and even hostile, enter at times into the very soul of her activities. Such has been the case from the time when a decree went forth from Caesar Augustus that all the world should be enrolled, which brought Mary and Joseph to the humiliation and the glory of Bethlehem. So it was that from the wine-cup fumes of William Duer and the Rev. Manasseh Cutler originated the Gallipolis colony which brought bitter crosses indeed into the lives of many, but stripped them of the gilded trappings of the hollow existence of gay Paris to make them nature's true men in the wilds of America; it brought also to the expiring Church in this land a group of powerful auxiliaries who were destined to uphold her life during a critical period, and it disseminated north,

[44] *The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, a very eloquent account of Pierre Desnoyers. See also ELLIOTT, *The Last of the Barons*, in the *Cath. Hist. Researches*; and Appleton's *Cyclopedia of Am. Biog.*

south, east, and west, men and women, the wandering children of the Crusaders, whose presence was everywhere a nucleus of gladness and faith in the land.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

For brevity's sake this paper has tried to avoid what many find the most interesting feature of the story of Gallipolis, the complicated land speculation with which it all originated. Readers desirous of investigating the intricate details of the financial manipulations by which the Rev. Manasseh Cutler secured a million acres of Ohio land for the Marietta settlement and placed four or five million more on the markets of Holland and France may consult:

William P. and Julia P. Cutler's *Life of Manasseh Cutler*, a classic work on beginnings in Ohio;

Magazine of American History, Vol. xxii, where Gen. E. C. Dawes, a grandson of Cutler, presents a most painstaking examination of the circumstances of the land purchases. This paper appears in various other historical magazines, and it forms a chapter in the *Life of Cutler* named above.

General Histories covering this period; such as:

(*a*) Justin Winsor's *Critical and Narrative History*, Vol. vii, p. 534.

(*b*) Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West*, Vol. iv, p. 252.

(*c*) McMaster's *History of the People of the U. S.*, Vol. i, pp. 505-18; ii, pp. 146-52.

Sketches and Biographies of the principal actors; Putnam, Duer, Craigie, Knox, and particularly C. B. Todd's *Life and Letters of Joel Barlow.*

The Scioto Papers (Duer MSS.) in the library of the New York Hist. Soc.

The Scioto Papers (Craigie MSS.) in the library of the Amer. Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Mass.

The Gen. Knox MSS. in the library of the N. Engl. Histor. and Geneal. Soc. of Boston.

Archer B. Hulbert's *Methods and Operations of the Scioto Group of Speculators* and his *Andrew Craigie and the Scioto Associates.*

Eloise Ellery's *Brissot de Warville.*

The matter of the present paper is drawn chiefly from:

Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications (Columbus), and particularly from Vol. iii, which contains the proceedings of the Centennial Anniversary of the City of Gallipolis, Ohio, October 16, 17, 18, 19, 1890.

The Gallipolis Papers, MSS., in the Van Wormer Library at the University of Cincinnati. Among many other important papers, we have here the accounts of early Gallipolis by two of its colonists, Bureau and LaCroix. Unfortunately, these Papers are largely transcripts.

Edward Naret, M. D., *History of the French Settlers at Gallipolis in* 1790. (First-hand information).

Mrs. Mary L. Ford, *History of the Settlement of Gallipolis.*

William G. Sibley, (*a*) *The French Five Hundred,* Gallipolis, 1901.
(*b*) *Gallipolis in the Cradle,* an address, 1915.

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Shea-DeCourcy, *The Catholic Church in the U. S.,* Asylum, p. 293.

Annales de la Prop. de la Foi, viii, p. 218.

Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Voyage dans les États-Unis . . . en* 1795-7.

F. M. Perrin de Lac, *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes.*

Volney, *Tableau du Climat,* etc. (Several French travelers passed through our colony. Sibley has made a good collection of their views).

American Catholic Hist. Researches, Vol. xii, pp. 50-3; xiv, pp. 167, 192, etc.

U. S. Cath. Hist. Soc. Records and Studies, Vol. i. (Chas. G. Herbermann's translation of M. Henri Carre's article in the *Revue de Paris* of May 15, 1898, on d'Espremesnil's colony).

The Catholic Historical Review, Vol. ii, p. 195. (Documents on the Ohio Bishopric).

Records of the Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc., Vol. xviii, pp. 261 and 421. (A very complete study of the Asylum colony).

J. Washington Ingham, *Asylum* (Towanda, Pa., 1916). A necessary supplement to the preceding.

Louis Houck, (*a*) *History of Missouri,* 3 vols. *passim.*
(*b*) *The Spanish Regime,* 2 vols. *passim.*

The *U. S. State Papers; Public Lands, passim.*

Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Texas,* Vol. ii, p. 57, on Bastrop.

Theodore T. Bedote, *The Scioto Speculation and the French Settlement at Gallipolis.* (A study of the Gallipolis Papers).

Family Traditions; Histories of Ohio, Missouri, Louisiana, Virginia, Kentucky, etc. Baptismal Records of St. Charles, Florissant, and St. Louis, Mo., and of Kaskaskia, Illinois; New Madrid (Mo.) Papers at the Mo. Hist. Soc. Library.

ST. REGIS SEMINARY

I

Early in 1823 Louis Valentine William Du Bourg, Bishop of Louisiana, visited Washington with a view to obtain a government subsidy for the support of a few missionaries whom he intended to settle among the Indian tribes of his vastly extended diocese. He was successful to the extent that he was guaranteed by the Government through the Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, an annual appropriation of $800 for the maintenance of four missionaries and also a contribution of unspecified amount toward the erection of a building in which to house them.[1]

With a characteristic touch, perhaps, of the enthusiastic formulation of plans coupled with rather faint appreciation of the practical difficulties that might be expected to attend their execution, that appeared at times in his conduct of ecclesiastical affairs, Bishop Du Bourg, even while he thus negotiated with the Government, knew not from what quarter he was to obtain the necessary priests for his projected Indian missions.[2] But in this instance his simple confidence was amply justified of Providence. He had just succeeded in his efforts to obtain from the Government a subsidy for the support of Indian missionaries who were to come from he knew not where, when presently a situation was disclosed that solved the problem before him in the happiest and most unexpected manner. The Novitiate of the Society of Jesus at Whitemarsh in Maryland was on the point of being closed on account of lack of material means to insure its support. Bishop Du Bourg, being advised of this critical state of affairs, proposed a transfer of the entire personnel of the Novitiate to his diocese, with the design of realizing

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NOTE: The letters and documents embodied in this article are, with a few exceptions, hitherto unpublished material from the archives of the New York-Maryland and Missouri Provinces of the Society of Jesus and the files of the Indian Bureau in Washington. In the citation of letters in the footnotes, the particles "to," "à," or "ad," connecting the names of writer and addressee, are used to indicate that the originals of the letters are in English, French, or Latin respectively.

[1] Calhoun to Dubourg, Feb. 20, 1823; March 11, 1823.

[2] Du Bourg à M. Louis Du Lourg, March 17, 1823. Published in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, 1: 462 (Louvain ed., 1825).

through their agency his program of missionary enterprise among the Indians of the West. The conditions of the transfer were satisfactorily arranged between the prelate and Rev. Charles Neale, Superior of the Jesuit Mission of Maryland, and a Concordat regulating the respective rights and obligations of the Society of Jesus in Missouri and the Bishop of Louisiana was drawn up and solemnly signed by the two contracting parties at Georgetown College, March 19, 1823. A week later Bishop Du Bourg signed a bond conveying to the Jesuits, to serve as a home for the latter, a property of his of about 205 acres situated in the environs of St. Ferdinand or Florissant, a quaint old Creole village lying about fifteen miles to the northwest of St. Louis in Missouri.[3]

As the Jesuit novices would not be ready to take the field as missionaries until after a period of further training and preparation, the Bishop saw himself compelled to modify somewhat the plan he had originally laid before the Government. He now, for the first time, it would appear, conceived the idea of an Indian School to be financed with the Government appropriation he had personally solicited and obtained in behalf of subjects of his who were to engage in resident missionary labor among the native tribes. "Pending the ordination of our Jesuit novices and their going forth as apostles," he wrote to his brother, M. Louis Du Bourg of Bordeaux, March 17, two days before the signing of the Concordat,

> I propose to receive into the Seminary a half-dozen Indian children from different tribes, so as to begin to familiarize my young missionaries with their manners and languages and in turn prepare the children to become guides, interpreters and helpers to the missionaries when the time comes to send the latter forth to the scattered tribes.[4]

On the same day that he penned the preceding, Du Bourg communicated his change of plan to Secretary Calhoun:

> I am willing to give for that establishment a fine and well-stocked farm, situated in the rich valley of Florissant about one mile from the river Missouri and fifteen from St. Louis.

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[3] The text of the Concordat is in Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal,* Documents, 1: 1021.

[4] *Ann. Prop.*, 1: 465.

Seven young clergymen, from twenty-two to twenty-seven years of age, of solid parts, and an excellent classical education, are nearly ready to set off at the first signal under the guidance of two Superiors and professors and with an escort of a few faithful mechanics and husbandmen to commence that foundation. I calculate at about two years the time necessary to consolidate it and to fit out most of those highly promising candidates for the duties of the missions, after which they will be anxious to be sent in different directions according to the views and under the auspices of Government whilst they will be replaced in the Seminary by others destined to continue the noble enterprise.

So forcibly am I struck with the happy consequences likely to result from the extension of that project that I hesitate not to believe that Government viewing it in the same light with myself will be disposed to offer me towards its completion that generous aid without which I would not be warranted to undertake it.

It has already condescended to allow $800.00 per annum for four missionaries. But it was on the supposition that they would be immediately sent to the Missouri and in the proposed plan the opening of the missions would take place but two years after the commencement of the Seminary. Yet though not actually employed among the tribes, the missionaries, whilst yet in their novitiate would not be the less profitably engaged in the cause; since, besides having a number of young Indians to feed, to educate and maintain, they would be laying the foundation of far more extended usefulness for the future. For the attainment of the object of collecting some Indian boys in the Seminary, it would be of great service, Sir, that you should please invite Gen'l Clark and Col. O'Fallon to lend me their assistance.[5]

To the above communication from Bishop Du Bourg, Secretary Calhoun replied on March 21:

Have received your letter of the 17th inst. and submitted it to the President [Monroe] for his consideration and direction, who has instructed me to inform you in reply that believing the establishment of a school on the principles which you have suggested is much better calculated to effect your benevolent design of extending the benefits of civilization to the remote tribes, and with it, the just influence of the government, than the plan you formerly proposed for the same object, he is willing to encourage it as far as he can with propriety, and will allow you at the former rate of $800 per annum to be paid quarterly [yearly], towards the support of the contemplated establishment. No advance, however, can be made consistently with the regulations until the establishment has actually commenced its operations, with a suitable number of Indian youths; of which fact and the number of pupils the certificate of General Clark will be the proper evidence.

[5] Du Bourg to Calhoun March 17, 1823. Indian Office Ms. Records.

A copy of this letter will be sent to General Clark with instructions to give proper orders to such of the Indian agents under his charge, as you may think necessary to facilitate the collection of the Indian youths to be educated and to afford every aid in his power to promote the success of the establishment.

II

Having in this manner originated the plan of an Indian school at Florissant and secured for it a measure of official support, Bishop Du Bourg could very well lay claim to the title which Father Van Quickenborne gave him of "Father of our Indian Seminary."[6] The school which was thus to owe its origin to the enterprising zeal of the Bishop of Louisiana appears to have been the first institution of its kind conducted under Catholic auspices in the United States. There are on record a few other attempts, apart from Father Van Quickenborne's successful one, to open Catholic Indian schools in the West in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Father Urban Guillet, Superior of the Trappist community settled at Florissant early in the last century, moved his establishment thence to the neighborhood of Cahokia in Illinois in the hope of finding in the latter place the boys he needed for a projected Indian school. Father Donatien Olivier, a conspicuous figure for more than half a century in the mission-stations along the Mississippi, obtained from the chief of the Kaskaskia, at that time still inhabiting their old lands in Southwestern Illinois, a promise of some Indian youths for the Trappist school; but that institution was, in the event, to be conducted as a school for white boys, with only a few Indian boys in attendance.[7] Some years later the Fathers of the Congregation of the Mission planned an Indian school at their Seminary called the "Barrens," in Perry County, Missouri. "The Jesuits have or will soon have a number of Indian children in their house," Father Odin wrote from the "Barrens" in August, 1823, "and in a few days our Superior is going to meet the Indian Agent to obtain some from him for our Seminary. We shall begin to study their language and to instruct them so as to make catechists out of them or even

[6] *Ann. Prop.*, 4: 583.

[7] *Ann. Prop.*, 1: 390, 392. Cf. *American State Papers, Public Lands*. 2: 106.

priests."[8] It does not appear that this plan for the education of Indian youth was ever realized, at least in the way of a regularly organized school. In the summer of 1824, a year later than the date of Father Odin's letter, Father Nerinckx, the pioneer missionary of Kentucky, died at St. Genevieve on his way from St. Louis to the Loretto Convent of Bethlehem, which was situated near the "Barrens." He had just arranged with General Clark in St. Louis for the reception at the Loretto convent of a number of Indian girls for whose education the Government had engaged to pay.[9] The unexpected death of the missionary frustrated the plan and the Indian girls were not sent. A combination of circumstances made it possible for Father Van Quickenborne, carrying out Bishop Du Bourg's plan, to take up with more success the experiment of Catholic Indian education in the United States.

Father Van Quickenborne was a Belgian by birth, having been borne in Peteghem near Ghent, January 21, 1788. He was at first a diocesan priest, became a Jesuit in 1815, came to America two years later, and was Master of Novices at Whitemarsh in Maryland, whence, at Bishop Du Bourg's invitation, he led his novices westward in the Spring of 1823 to open at Florissant in Missouri the first house of the restored Society of Jesus in the Mississippi Valley. The names of the young men who with their Superior thus laid the foundations of the Missouri Province of the Society of Jesus were Judocus Van Assche, Peter John De Smet, Peter John Verhaegen, John Baptist Smedts and Francis De Maillet. In addition to Father Van Quickenborne and his novices the personnel of the pioneer party of 1823 included Father Peter Joseph Timmermans, Assistant Master of Novices, and three lay-brothers, Peter De Meyer, Henry Reisselman and Charles Strahan. All, with the exception of Brother Strahan, an American, and Brother Reisselman, a Hollander, were of Belgian birth. Having established themselves on the Florissant property, where they were to pass through a period of acute privation and distress, the Missouri Jesuits remained

[8] *Ann. Prop.*, 1: 502.

[9] *Ann. Prop.*, 2: 369. MAES, *The Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx*, p. 528. "Mr. Nerinckx wished to settle down near us and start an Indian college." Van Assche à De Nef, Sept. 1, 1825.

subject to the jurisdiction of the parent-mission of Maryland until 1831, when they were released from such connection and made directly dependent on the Father General of the Society of Jesus in Rome.[10]

Next to the problem of providing for the material wants of his community, a very real and pressing one for many months after the arrival of the Jesuit colony in the West, the problem of setting on foot the Indian school was the one that most engaged Van Quickenborne's mind during his first year at St. Ferdinand's. Scarcely two months after coming West, he wrote to Father John McElroy, a fellow-Jesuit of Frederick, Mayland.

> We have not as yet any Indian children. I have seen several Indian chiefs. They have all promised to give their children, but it is an object with which they hardly ever part.[11]

In the summer of 1823 a deputation of Indians passed through St. Louis on their way to Washington where they were to negotiate for the formation of a confederacy, under government auspices, of six Indian tribes who had planned to exchange their lands east of the Mississippi for lands in the Indian Territory. At the head of the deputation was Colonel Lewis, a Shawnee chief and leading promoter of the proposed confederacy. On advice from General William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, with headquarters in St. Louis, and one of the principals in the memorable Lewis and Clark expedition to the Columbia River, Father Van Quickenborne visited Colonel Lewis, the Shawnee, in St. Louis and laid before him his plans for an Indian school. The chief expressed approval of the plans and promised to send three of his grandchildren to Florissant in the following spring. General Clark urged upon Father Van Quickenborne the opening of the school at as early a date as possible. The latter reported all these circumstances to Father Charles Neale, requesting him, as also Father Benedict Fenwick, to call upon Colonel Lewis when the latter should have arrived in Washington.[12]

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[10] The most detailed account of the circumstances that first brought together the group of Jesuits who established themselves in Missouri in 1823 is in MAES, *The Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx*, pp. 445–464. See also LAVEILLE, *Life of Father De Smet*, and HILL, *History of St. Louis University*.

[11] Van Quickenborne to McElroy, July 21, 1823.

[12] Van Quickenborne to Charles Neale, Sept. 23, 1823.

A letter from Father Benedict Fenwick to the Florissant Superior, written in September, 1823, in the name of the Acting Superior of the Maryland Mission, Father Francis Neale, deals among other matters with the question of the Indian school:

> On the subject of the education of the young Indians of whom you speak, the Superior requires that you act with the utmost prudence and circumspection in that affair and that you keep yourself altogether within the Concordat. He wishes you to undertake no more than what is specified therein and what the Society has engaged itself for the present to perform. He has no wish to enlarge the sphere of your operation until adequate means be procured either from the Government favoring such a design or from the quarters of which he will give you due notice.
>
> The Superior would have you cultivate in a particular manner the good esteem of the Governor and United States Agents as well civil as military; and whenever they speak to you of the education of the Indian youth to assure them of your willingness to undertake the same; but at the same time to let them know that such a thing will be quite impracticable without the aid of Government. If it should, however, regularly pay you the stipend agreed upon and moreover hold out greater prospects provided you will undertake the education of a larger number of young Indians, it rests with you to weigh the matter and immediately communicate with the Superior and expect his advice on the same. In the meantime let the engagement as far as it goes which the Society has entered into be fully and completely executed. No one can blame you for not doing what the Society has never engaged to do. You have, I presume, a copy of that contract: let that be your Pole-star.[13]

In accordance with the regulations governing such appropriations, the subsidy which the Government had promised to the Indian school at Florissant was not to be paid until the school should have been in actual operation. "Regarding the education of the Indians," Van Quickenborne writes in December, 1823, to Father Francis Neale,

> the Bishop has stirred a great sensation in St. Louis about this affair and said everywhere that Government had allowed $800 as soon as we should have six of them. General Clark told me that the Bishop had assured him Government had made such allowance but that, although he was the one who paid out such pensions, he was not authorized to pay anything to us. Before I received your Reverence's letter I expressed to Gen. or Gov. Clark (he is ordinarily called Gen.) my great desire to have Indian youths, made known to him our circumstances and offered to take

[13] Benedict Fenwick to Van Quickenborne, Sept. 10, 1823. The Concordat makes no mention of an Indian School.

some (under these circumstances) if he thought proper to do so and he were sure the Government would pay for them. He gave me to understand that it was absolutely necessary that we should begin with some before he could recommend our establishment, and that the government would help us, if they thought proper, only after we had begun. This was a condition sine qua non. He (has) the week before last encouraged me to take next Spring two Indian boys of about nine years, which he had offered me five or six weeks ago. To take any without being paid for it is a thing which forbids itself and except we have a numbers of Fathers that are prepared to go out with them after having given them their education, the training of such boys would not be productive of much, perhaps of any good. This is the opinion of General Clark. Before I can say more I must hear what has been done at Washington by Col. Lewis."[14]

Nothing came of Colonel Lewis' plan of an Indian confederacy. Van Quickenborne wrote to his Superior on New Year's day, 1824, for authority to open the Indian school in the following Spring, adding that General Clark was urging that a start be made.[15] At length, in May, 1824, the Father was summoned to St. Louis by the General, who informed him that some Iowa Indians had just made an offer of boys and that he might have them if he wished. Van Quickenborne agreed to take them and word to this effect being sent at once to the Iowa chiefs, who were then visiting the city, they promised to send four or six boys of their tribe to Florissant. Meanwhile, two Sauk boys, one eight and the other six years of age, had been received by the Superior and with these as the first students, the Indian Seminary was formally opened on May 11, 1824, the feast-day of the Jesuit saint, Francis de Hieronymo. The next pupils to be entered at the Seminary were the Iowa youths whom Van Quickenborne had been promised at St. Louis. They started, five in number, from their homes on the left bank of the Missouri River in what is now Southwestern Iowa, under the protection of a party of chiefs. The

[14]Van Quickenborne to Francis Neale, Dec. 12, 1823, Bishop DuBourg appears to have stipulated with the Government for the education of only six boys. He writes July 2, 1824, to Van Quickenborne, "you do not tell me whether Genl. Clark has paid the $800 at last. I entered into contract for only six Indian boys. I am going to write to the Secretary of War to have you paid as soon as you shall have the six." No reference to such contract has been met with in the correspondence between the Bishop and Secretary Calhoun.

[15]Van Quickenborne to Dzierozynski, Jan. 1, 1824. Father Francis Dzierozynski was at this period Superior of the Jesuit Mission of Maryland.

Sauk, for some unknown reason, despatched a deputation from their tribe to dissuade the Iowa chiefs from sending their sons to the new institution. But the Iowa chiefs were not to be turned from their purpose. After some 70 miles of travel, two of the boys fell sick and had to return to the Iowa camp while the three others, with their parents, continued on their way. On June 11, 1824, the candidates, in company with their parents, an interpreter, and Gabriel Vasquez, U. S. agent for the Iowa, appeared at the Seminary. The Indian youths did not submit without protest to what must have seemed to them, accustomed as they were to the freedom of the forest, as nothing short of imprisonment. They began to cry piteously as their elders prepared to depart, whereupon one of the scholastics took up a flute and began to play. The music had the effect of quieting the lads and making them resigned, as far as outward indications went, to their new environment. But Vasquez, the agent, warned Father Van Quickenborne that a sharp eye would have to be kept on the boys, as flight was an easy trick for them. Accordingly, Mr. Smedts, the prefect, rose at intervals during the first night of the Iowas' stay at the Seminary to see that his young charges were all within bounds, while another seminarian was also assigned to sentry duty. But somehow or other the watchers were outwitted. About one o'clock in the morning the Iowa boys made a clever escape. Their flight was soon detected and immediately a party of two were on the track of the fugitives. They were nimble runners, for they were five miles from the Seminary when their pursuers came up to them. They made no resistance to capture and returned, apparently quite content, to the school, though determined, no doubt, to repeat the adventure when opportunity offered, as Father Van Quickenborne intimates in his account of the incident, which he concludes with the comment, *et erit saepe talis repetitio.*[16]

III

The Indian school, which Father Van Quickenborne was to designate in his reports to Washington as St. Regis Seminary, was now a reality, so that he felt justified in applying to the Indian Office for the financial aid it had promised through Bishop

[16]Van Quickenborne ad Dzierozynski, June 12, 1824.

Du Bourg. On November 21, 1824, he despatched two reports on the condition of the school, one addressed to General Clark and the other to Secretary of War Calhoun. "The Seminary," he wrote to Clark,

> went into actual operation the eleventh of May ultimo with two boys of the Sac [Sauk] nation; on the eleventh of June three more were received of the Hyaway [Iowa] nation; thus since that time I have had five boys. The buildings are commodious and can contain from forty to sixty students. They are nearly complete and fifty-four ft. long by seventeen wide one way and thirty-four feet by seventeen feet the other way; three stories high, the lowest of stone, the two others of logs, brick chimnies and galleries all around. They have cost $1,500.00 and when completed will cost $2,000.00.[17]

To Secretary Calhoun he wrote:

> The Seminary is built on a spot of land remarkable for its healthiness and which on account of its being somewhat distant from the Indian tribes and its being sufficiently removed from town is possessed of many advantages. I have persons belonging to the Seminary well calculated to teach the boys the mechanical arts such as are suitable for their condition, as a carpenter, a blacksmith, etc., whose names I do not place on the report, because the boys were not thought fit as yet to begin to learn a trade.
>
> I have the comfort to be able to give my entire approbation to their correct comportment and from the sentiments they utter I have strong hopes that they will become virtuous and industrious citizens warmly attached to the Government that has over them such beneficent designs. I have been prepared these six months past to receive a considerable number more than what I have at present. The number of boys would have amounted to a few more, had not some on account of sickness returned to their village after having done a part of the way."

The letter concludes by asking for the payment of the $800 promised to Bishop Dubourg "in your letter of March 21, 1822 [1823]."[18]

Early in January, 1825, Father Van Quickenborne was still waiting for a response to his petition.

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[17] Indian Office Ms. Records. At Father Van Quickenborne's request, General Clark certified to the accuracy of the Superior's report, which according to usage he transmitted to Washington. "This is to certify that the Catholic Missionary Society at Florissant in the State of Missouri have established a school at that place for the education of Indian children and deserve the cooperation of the Government. The progress of the boys has been very rapid and satisfactory. Wm. Clark."

[18] Indian Office Ms. Records.

"It is now two months," he wrote to Bishop Rosati, "since I wrote to the Secretary of War and since General Clark sent him the certificate asked for. I am waiting every day for a favorable answer and I think it better to defer writing to Mr. Richard for a few days more. I fear there is something against us in St. Louis."[19]

Meanwhile a Bureau of Indian Affairs had been established in Washington in 1824 as an appanage of the War Department with Col. Thomas Lorraine M'Kenney as its first Commissioner. Colonel M'Kenney's administration of Indian Affairs was able and honest. He had long been interested in the condition of the native tribes of the country and it was chiefly due to his agitation of the matter, as he relates in his Memoirs, that Congress was led to make an annual appropriation of $10,000 for the civilization of the Indian. This was the origin of the so-called Civilization Fund out of which the appropriation for St. Regis Seminary was to come. M'Kenney held the post of Indian Commissioner until he was removed in 1830 by President Jackson, being the first government official, so it has been stated, to fall a victim to the spoils-system inaugurated by that strenuous executive.[20]

It was accordingly from Colonel M'Kenney that Father Van Quickenborne received an answer in January, 1825, to the letter he had addressed to Calhoun in November of the preceding year.

Your letter to the Secretary of War of the 21st Nov. last in the form of a report of the condition of the Indian Seminary at Florissant has been received. I am directed by the Secretary to state that the number of children in the Seminary being only five, he cannot advance the sum of $800 as promised in his letter to the Bishop Du Bourg of 21st March, 1822, that letter having stipulated to pay $800 on the following conditions:

1st, after the establishment should be in operation, and 2nd, with a suitable number of Indian youths.

The Secretary, however, directs that the most that has ever been allowed for the purpose be allowed to you, which is one hundred dollars for each youth, which will be increased at that rate 'til you shall have received eight, when the increase of appropriations will have reached its limits. A

[19] Van Quickenborne à Rosati, Jan. 1825, Archives of the Archdiocese of St. Louis. The Mr. Richard mentioned in Father Van Quickenborne's letter was the Rev. Gabriel Richard of Detroit, U.S. Congressman from Michigan Territory during the years 1823-1825. He was the first and only Catholic priest that ever held such office.

[20] M'KENNEY, *Memoirs Official and Personal*, New York, 1846, p. 35.

remittance of five hundred dollars has been made to Gen'l Clark to be paid to you in conformity with the above decision, and all future remittances on account of the allowance made to the school of which you have charge will be made through Gen'l Clark, unless you should wish them to be made differently.[21]

The Government had thus, though not without some delay, discharged in all essential respects the obligations it had assumed towards the Indian school in the negotiations between the Bishop of Louisiana and Secretary Calhoun. There appears to be no evidence that the Government was really disposed not to stand by its engagements, though its delay in forwarding the first appropriation, or some other circumstance, seems to have excited some such suspicion in the minds of Bishop Du Bourg and Father Van Quickenborne. The Bishop wrote to Van Quickenborne in January, 1825, while the expected appropriation seemed to be hanging in the balance:

I am astonished at what you told me of the Government's breach of promise. Why do you not protest at Washington through one of your Fathers? I wrote lately to Col. Benton, Senator of Missouri, requesting him to see the Secretary of War and remind him of his obligations. It would be well for you to forward to Father Dzierozynski copies of the Secretary's letters which I sent you, with the request that he show them to the Secretary, together with a certificate from the Governor of your State to the effect that you have complied with the conditions of the contract. I cannot believe that the Government is aware of the violation of its pledge. The matter should be attended to as soon as possible. If, which is an impossibility, the Government should turn a deaf ear to your demands, the whole affair should be brought to the notice of the public. Such a breach of faith would compromise any Government. I will myself write to Mr. Calhoun in the plainest terms.[22]

The $500 which Calhoun directed to be paid to Father Van Quickenborne at St. Louis was the first money ever appropriated by the United States Government to a Catholic Indian School. As the number of boys at the St. Regis had increased beyond eight, the appropriation in its favor for the years 1825 and 1826 was presumably $800.[23] In 1827, however, the appropriation

[21] M'Kenney to Van Quickenborne, Jan. 28, 1825.

[22] Du Bourg to Van Quickenborne, Jan. 18, 1825.

[23] "You tell me that the number of your Indian boys is increasing. If this be so the Government allowance ought to increase in proportion up to $800. Do not fail to protest in this matter." Du Bourg to Van Quickenborne, May 25, 1825.

was cut down to $400, extra demands on the funds of the Indian Office, so it was alleged, making larger allowance impossible, and it remained at this figure until 1830 when the payments ceased altogether.[24] The total amount of money paid by the Government to the Florissant school during its brief career of six or seven years was about $3,500.[25]

Now that Father Van Quickenborne had secured from Government the promised subsidy for his educational venture, he was anxious to secure aid from the same quarter towards defraying the expenses of the school-house he had erected on the seminary grounds. The cost of this building, as noted in his report to General Clark of November 21, 1824, was about $1,500 or $2,000 when the building should be completed. Van Quickenborne's application for aid in this connection was refused on grounds set forth in a communication from Colonel M'Kenney:

> Your letter of the 23 ult. to the Secretary of War, requesting to have the plan of the buildings at Florissant approved and payment to be made according to the regulations of the 20th Feb., 1820, has been received. I have the honor by direction of the Secretary to state, in reply, that the allowance from the Civilization fund, towards the erection of buildings for Indian schools, is considered applicable (as stated in the regulations of the 30 Sept., 1819, of which those of the 20th Feb., 1820 are additional) to such establishments only as may be fixed within the limits of those Indian nations that border our settlements. The buildings at Florissant not being within such limits, but upon your own land, are not provided for in the regulations aforesaid.[26]

It was clear to Father Van Quickenborne that his efforts in behalf of Indian boys would be largely wasted unless on growing up they could secure Catholic wives with whom to persevere in the practice of their religion. A school for girls was therefore an essential factor in his scheme of Indian education and in his efforts to establish one he took counsel with Madame Duchesne. That truly apostolic woman, it is unnecessary to say, was watching with the liveliest interest the educational experiment to which her spiritual director had put his hand. She took a direct and

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[24] M'Kenney to Van Quickenborne, Feburary 9, 1827. Expenses of school for past year [1828] $1,600. Government pays only $400. *Ann. Prop.*, 4: 584.

[25] Father Van Quickenborne in a report gives the amount as $3,300 or $3,500.

[26] M'Kenney to Van Quickenborne, April 28, 1825.

maternal interest in the Indian boys, washing their linen and lending her personal services more than once to keep them neat and tidy. The idea of a school for Indian girls to be conducted by her community appealed to her intensely apostolic spirit. Accordingly, in June, 1824, a month after the opening of the boys' school, she wrote to the Mother General, Sophie Barat, asking permission to open a similar institution for girls.

> "The board costs little," she explained to her; "lodging is already available and as for clothes, we shall beg them. We must omit nothing to further this interesting work, the object of so many desires, the very thing that has brought us here."[27]

Five weeks later she wrote again:

> I sometimes think that God has spoiled our first plans and our first undertaking, the boarding-school I mean, in order to build up little by little the more fascinating work of the education of the Indians. We must merit it by humiliations and other sufferings.[28]

In the beginning of April, 1825, the ambition of Madame Duchesne was finally realized. "One evening during Office," Madame Mathevan records in her *Journal*, "Father Rector called at the Convent and asked to see the Superior. Picture the surprise of Madame Duchesne on seeing two little Indian girls before her, who, greatly embarrassed, were trying to hide themselves behind the Father's flowing mantle. He had brought them up in a cart."[29]

On all things in and about the Convent of the Sacred Heart at Florissant poverty was writ large. It had now to carry an additional burden of expense in the Indian school, a burden heavier than Madame Duchesne had anticipated. The cost of maintenance for the first year amounted to $590, doubtless a heavy drain on the slender resources of the nuns. "For the expenses incurred by them," Van Quickenborne wrote in December, 1825, "I have offered and given them: (1) corn for the whole year; (2) potatoes for the whole year; (3) fire-wood for the whole year.

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[27] BAUNARD, *Life of Mother Duchesne*, p. 264.
[28] BAUNARD, *op. cit.*, p. 264.
[29] BAUNARD, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

I doubt whether they will receive these things gratis. They help us much in making and repairing clothes for us and the Indians."[30]

There was no reason, however, why aid should not be lent to the Madame's Indian school by the Government, which was subsidizing similar institutions in charge of non-Catholic denominations and was a real, if indirect, beneficiary in the devoted labors of the nuns. Accordingly, Van Quickenborne, with the warm approval of General Clark, though the latter expressed a desire that his name be not mentioned in connection with the affair, determined to apply to Washington for an appropriation for the girls' school. His petition, dispatched in June, 1825, under the auspices, so he is at pains to note, of St. Francis Regis, was addressed to Secretary of War Eaton, and represented that an annual subsidy of $800 would enable the directors of the Female Indian School at Florissant to continue the praiseworthy enterprise on which they had embarked.[31] The petition was denied, presumably on the ground of lack of funds to cover the appropriation asked for, and so Madame Duchesne's Indian School was destined to run its brief career without government support of any kind. It closed its doors at about the same time that the neighboring school for boys came to an end.

As the only Catholic Indian school in the United States, St. Regis Seminary and its pioneer labors were brought by Father Van Quickenborne to the attention of Catholic France in the pages of the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*. Mention of the school is also to be found in an appeal made in 1826 to the generosity of European Catholics by Father Gabriel Richard of Detroit, at that time a member of the National House of Representatives.

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[30] Van Quickenborne to Dzierozynski, Dec. 19, 1825. "As the school for girls has been opened only this year, the beginning of it has necessarily been attended with greater expenses than will be required next year for an equal number. Both boys and girls behave with great propriety. The strict morality which they observe in their conduct, their submission and obedience to the orders of their Superiors, their entire satisfaction and contentedness in their new state of life and finally their gratitude to their benefactors give the strongest hopes that they will be useful citizens and be sincerely attached to Government that has in their regard such benevolent views."

[31] Van Quickenborne ad Dzierozynski, June, 1825.

At Mackinac last summer the Presbyterians put up a school-house about a hundred feet in length. In this school they have received a large number of Indian children, whom they feed, clothe and instruct gratis. The Catholics of America are in general poor and unable even to build churches for their own needs. . . . It is then to the generosity of the Catholics of Europe that we must look for effective aid. The ministers of error are quick to profit by the ample means placed at their disposal by their rich merchants who subscribe liberally for all their institutions. Moreoever, as they were on the ground before us, they make off annually with nearly all of the ten thousand dollars which the President of the United States is authorized to spend on the civilization of the Indians. There is so far only one Catholic school for the instruction of Indian children, that namely at Florissant, near St. Louis; this establishment receives a subsidy from the Government and this owing to the clever tact and engaging address of the Bishop of New Orleans, Mgr. Du Bourg. . . . The Jesuits of France, England and Italy should come here and take possession of their old missions, the ruins of which cry out for them on all sides. . . . What would I not do to make my voice heard over all Europe! I would speak to it of the poor Indian in these terms: "*Parvuli petierunt panem et non erat qui frangeret eis.*"[32]

IV

We have seen that the affairs of the Indian school brought Father Van Quickenborne into frequent personal contact with Gen. William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis. This historic character, whose success in dealing with the Indians make him a conspicuous figure in the early history of the West, frequently discussed with the Jesuit missionary the deplorable condition of the savage tribes and the best methods of affording them relief. His own plan for the systematic civilization of the Indian nations, as outlined by Father Van Quickenborne in a letter to the Maryland Superior, was simple enough. A tract of land, presumably west of the Missouri state-line in the present state of Kansas (though Van Quickenborne says it was only 200 miles distant from Florissant) was to be set aside for the Indian tribes. The tract was to be divided into districts and in each district four or five tribes were to be allowed to settle down. A school-house with resident missionary was to be provided for each district, while outside the limits of the entire

[32] *Ann. Prop.*, 3: 333.

region there was to be a sort of central Indian school to which about six boys and as many girls from each district were to be sent. St. Regis Seminary, with a department for girls to be conducted by the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, was considered as likely to answer all the requirements of this central school. "But," Clark observed to Van Quickenborne, "if I put a Methodist in one district, a Presbyterian in another, a Quaker in a third, and a Catholic in fourth, you will be constantly at war, and instead of giving them peace will only create confusion in the minds of the Indians. I should like to give the districts to one Society and I think that yours is more competent for the work than any of the others." Father Van Quickenborne replied to Clark that he thought his Order had men sufficient for the districts. To the eagerly apostolic Superior, Clark's scheme appeared a dispensation of Providence for renewing the missionary glories of the ancient Jesuits. "Who does not see here," he writes with enthusiasm to Dzierozynski, "the beginning of another Paraguay. It would indeed be a miracle if the other missionaries were displaced and ours substituted in their stead. But this is the age of miracles. Oh, if our Very Rev. Fr. General were to send us a Xavier, a Lallemant, a John Francis [Regis] and you, Father, four or five well-formed brothers. *Sed quid ego miser.*"[33]

Some months later Clark returned to the subject of Catholic missionaries. He informed Van Quickenborne that the Catholics were not asking for missionary posts, and that these were now nearly all assigned, the Methodists having been particularly insistent in their demands.[34] Finally, in the fall of 1825, he invited the Father to visit the Kansas Indians and promised to pay for the boys he would obtain from that tribe. The land held by the Kansas Indians within the limits of Missouri had been ceded to the United States Government in 1825. One township was reserved to be sold for $20,000 dollars, and this sum was to constitute an education fund to be applied by the President of the United States to the maintenance of a school in the Kansas Village. At 5 per cent the capital would yield an annual income

[33] Van Quickenborne ad Dzierozynski, April 29, 1825.

[34] Van Quickenborne ad Dzierozynski, June 30, 1825. "Wishing to stir me to action, he [Clark] deprecated politely the fact that Catholics do not sufficiently exert themselves to obtain those places."

of $1,000. Clark urged Van Quickenborne to apply for the Kansas school with the accompanying appropriation. The treaty, so the General informed him, awaited confirmation by the Senate, but that obtained, immediate application for the new school would be made by some Protestant denomination. Van Quickenborne wrote to his Superior reporting this offer made by General Clark and suggesting that the affair could be negotiated in Washington by Father Dzierozynski himself, or by Father Dubuisson or by Father Matthews of St. Patrick's Church. Nothing, however, came of this attempt of the superintendent to engage Jesuit missionaries for the Kansas Indians.[35]

In the course of the year 1825, Father Van Quickenborne, at General Clark's solicitation, drew up and submitted a plan for a general and systematic civilization of the Indian tribes. "The Superintendent of Indian Affairs," the Father wrote to Bishop Du Bourg, "has had me put in writing my ideas on the best way of civilizing the Indians. He previously laid before me his own plans as well as his good intentions in our regard. It is only two days since he broached the subject and I have not found time to perfect my plan. I send it to you, however, such as I have been able to make it in so short a time, hoping that your Lordship will make whatever changes you may deem advisable."[36] The plan was as follows:

> 1. Our little Indian Seminary should continue to support the present number of boys from eight to twelve years of age, while the Ladies of the Sacred Heart in our neighborhood should bring up about as many girls of the same tribe. They should be taken young, from eight to twelve, to habituate them more easily to the customs and industry of civil life, and impress more deeply on their hearts the principles of religion.
>
> 2. After five or six years education, it would be good that each youth should choose a wife among the pupils of the Sacred Heart, before returning to his tribe.
>
> 3. Within two or three years two missionaries should go to reside in that nation to gain their confidence and esteem, and gradually persuade a number to settle together on a tract to be set apart by Government. Agricultural implements and other necessary tools for the new establishment to be furnished.

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[35] Van Quickenborne to Dzierozynski, December 19, 1825.
[36] *Ann. Prop.*, 2: 396.

4. As soon as this new town was formed, some of the couples formed in our establishments should be sent there with one of the said missionaries, who should be immediately replaced, so that two should always be left with the body of the tribe, till it was gradually absorbed in the civilized colony.

5. Our missionaries should then pass to another tribe and proceed successively with each in the same manner as the first.

6. As the number of missionaries and our resources increased, the civilization of two or more tribes might be undertaken at once. The expense of carrying out this plan might be estimated thus:

The support of 16 to 24 children in two establishments.	$1,900
Three Missionaries	600
Total	$2,500.[37]

Van Quickenborne's plan, ingenious and promising as it appeared to be, was never executed. General Clark promised to lay it before Secretary of War Calhoun on the occasion of a visit he was to pay to Washington, but omitted doing so since the Secretary, who was soon to relinquish his office, was unwilling to discuss measures the execution of which would devolve upon his successor.[38]

Four years later, in the spring of 1829, Father Van Quickenborne called on President Jackson in Washington and laid before him substantially the same plan for the civilization of the Indians as that outlined above. The President gave his verbal approval. The plan is sketched in a letter which Van Quickenborne addressed to Secretary of War, Eaton, in October, 1829.

In the latter part of last Spring, I had the honor of proposing to our venerable President, General Jackson, the plan for the civilization of the Indians, which I now take the liberty of laying before your excellency. Should Government approve of it, I would buy in this state six or seven thousand acres of land. The Indian boys and girls educated in our institution, after being married would go thither to settle upon a tract of 25 acres, which I would give to each of them in fee simple, with some restrictions. However, all of them could make application as foreigners do for citizenship. I would be inclined to receive into our Seminary only such youths, as declare through their parents, their willingness and desire to become citizens of the United States, and living according to the

[37] *Ann. Prop.*, 2:397. The translation is from Shea, *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States*, p. 406.

[38] Van Quickenborne to Dzierozynski, January 10, 1825.

laws of the country. Upon making such declaration such grown Indians as would be willing to be married according to our laws and begin immediately a farm would also be received. The new settlers would adopt the English language. Two Reverend gentlemen of our Society would reside among them, be their pastor and officiate in the church to be built. If any assistance should be given by Government, it would be most gratefully received. The President has verbally approved the plan.[39]

The Government's decision in regard to Father Van Quickenborne's plan was communicated to him by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Colonel M'Kenney:

Your views in relation to the Indians, and especially the Indian children educated at your school, are considered highly commendable, and it is very gratifying to find that you are disposed to engage so earnestly in the cause of Indian improvement. Your plan, as far as it goes, is considered good; but as the subject will be taken up by the Executive and a general plan for the civilization and improvement of the Indians submitted to Congress at the next session, it is not deemed advisable, in the meantime, to extend the aid of the Government to any partial plan for the same object.[40]

V

The records of the period afford us only occasional glimpses of what went on within the humble inclosure of the Indian school at Florissant. Father Van Quickenborne, always an optimist when the affairs of the school were in question, wrote with keen satisfaction to Dzierozynski, within a few months after the institution had opened its doors, of the change that had come over the Indian boys:

Plays are preparing for the Indian boys. These go on to the astonishment of us all. In the beginning we had to watch them like wild hares; they were weeping the whole day. The Ladies of the Sacred Heart have a forty days devotion to St. John Francis Regis. I have made a vow, if the boys changed, to do what I could to have that Saint for the patron of our mission. The boys are entirely changed. They observe order like a well-regulated college boy or like a novice; they already know their prayers. Mr. Smedts, their prefect, understands them. We have had an interpreter for fourteen days. They make regularly their visits to the

[39] Van Quickenborne to Eaton, October 4, 1829. Indian Office Ms. Records. Van Quickenborne's plan is also sketched in a letter in the *Ann. Prop.*, 4: 587.

[40] M'Kenney to Van Quickenborne, October 27, 1829.

> Blessed Sacrament and behave to the great edification of us all. They work two hours before dinner and two after dinner with the greatest satisfaction. They all wept when the hoe was put into their hand for the first time.[41]

Father Van Quickenborne's satisfaction with his Indian pupils was further increased by an incident that took place during the first year of the school's career.

> We received a visit here from chiefs and twelve warriors of the Hyaway [Iowa] nation. The boys appeared at St. Louis before these visitors while they had their talk with General Clark. They were well dressed and behaved extremely well. On entering the city one of them drove the cart in which the others were, which amazed the Indian fathers exceedingly. They were highly satisfied and General Clarke, I have been told, said, after the talk was over, to an agent: "I wish all the Indian boys were with Catholics."[42]

To live the greater part of the day with a class of Indian boys and at the same time continue to snatch some moments of time for the theological studies preparatory to ordination, was an obviously uncomfortable manner of existence. Mr. Smedts, the first of the scholastics to be appointed prefect of the Indian pupils, had been succeeded in that capacity by Mr. Verreydt, who thus laid open to Father Dzierozynski the difficulty of his position:

> The boys rise in the morning during meditation and I am with them till half-past eight o'clock when they go to the field and return a quarter before twelve, at which time I am with them till two o'clock (after dinner) when they go again to the field till a quarter before five. At this time I used to teach some to spell till half-past six; but since eight boys have left us so that we have at present but seven Indian boys and three French boys, our Reverend Superior has allowed me to employ this time in the study of moral divinity, the study of which I resumed since last Easter. On Sundays and Holydays I have to be with them the whole day; when it rains I have to be with them. They must be watched at night. I often sleep in the day in order to watch at night.[43]

The one idea that had to be brought home to the Indian boys with persistent pains was that work is honorable. The conven-

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[41] Van Quickenborne to Dzierozynski, 1824.
[42] Van Quickenborne to Dzierozynski, Jan. 10, 1825.
[43] Verreydt to Dzierozynski, 1826.

tional picture of the American Indian in his native habitat which represents him as idling comfortably in the sun at his wigwam door while his squaw is busy with formidable tasks of manual labor does no violence to the facts. On an occasion when a band of some thirty Indians paid a visit to Florissant, one of their number was amazed to see his son, a pupil of the Seminary, carrying a bucket of water. All the pride of race rose within him and he asked the boy indignantly, "Are you a slave?"—the Indian's epithet for all who labor with their hands. To overcome the prejudice of the boys against work it became necessary for the directors of the school to set an example in their own persons of manual labor. With this end in view, as for other reasons also, one of the community, either a lay-brother or a scholastic, worked alongside the boys in the fields. At intervals, as in the potato and corn-planting season, the entire scholastic body would join them in their work. Moreover, the scholastics spent nearly the whole of the vacation period in labor of various kinds, as in making cider or felling trees for tables. "All this is necessary," Mr. Van Assche, one of their number, observes to a correspondent, "to encourage the Indians." Efforts were also made to teach the youths to sing and even to play on musical instruments, not without some success. But on the whole their voices were found to lack the clearness requisite for singing, though an Indian boy would occasionally delight the worshippers at St. Ferdinand's church with a voice of unusual sweetness.[44]

To provide suitable board and especially clothing for the children was sometimes a serious problem.

> To increase the number of Indians and Jesuits as well [Mr. Van Assche wrote in 1825 to his benefactor M. De Nef of Turnhout in Belgium], it is highly important for us to try to improve our farm. We have written to our parents and friends for clothing, as without such assistance, it is quite impossible for us to receive many pupils. To feed sixteen or twenty is not such a great matter, but to clothe them is out of the question, for shoes, hats and linen are very expensive. Those who are coming to join us will perform a great act of charity by bringing along with them as large a supply as possible of linen and other kinds of cloth, no matter of what color, provided of course it is worth the cost of transportation. If they bring pantaloons, cloaks, or other articles of wear ready made, they

[44] Van Assche to De Nef, May, 1827.

must know that the youngest of the twelve is only five and the oldest fourteen years old. Most of the clothes on them now were brought by us from Europe.[45]

What happened when the Indian parents visited their sons at the Seminary is told naively by the lay-brother, Peter De Meyer.

> We opened a school for Indian and half-Indian boys. They were taught to wear clothes, to eat with knives and forks, to say their prayers in English and to work in the fields. I worked several summers with them in the corn fields and chopped fire-wood with them during winter in the woods. Once their fathers and their attendants, for they were chiefs of different tribes, came to see them on their way to Washington to transact business with the President of the United States for their nation. On their arrival towards night we made great preparation to receive them well. We killed a large ox by candle-light in the orchard and were going to lay a table with knives, forks, etc. But their interpreter, who was a Frenchman and knew their language well, said, "Not so; give them a large pot and meat and let them cook for themselves in the woods." So a large kettle was taken out the wash-house and a quarter of the ox was given to them and they then retired into the woods about thirty yards from the house. The boys put a piece of blanket on their backs which was the uniform of the nobles of their nation. They made a big fire, cooked and eat their bellyful. They also took some snaps which they carried with them in long canes. Then they began to dance around the fire, singing their war-songs. These lasted till a very late hour. Some of ours feared they were about to do some mischief; but it was all fun. They at last lay down and slept till morning; when they got up, they began to eat again, for their kettle was not yet empty. Shortly after, they started off.[46]

For a while Father Van Quickenborne's Indian school seemed destined to a prolonged and useful career. From the Indian Office came approval and appreciation of its work.[47] But more

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[45] Van Assche to De Nef, 1825. The generosity of benefactors appears to have solved later on the problems of clothing the Indian boys. "For their support we have and will receive from the charity of the faithful whatever is necessary. Last week we received from Europe 95 shirts, 135 handkerchiefs, 2 soutanes, 1 cloak, 2 surtouts, 35 pairs boots and a number of stockings and flannel jackets, all in very good order." Van Quickenborne to Dzierozynski, September 1, 1828.

[46] *Reminiscenses of Peter De Meyer*, S. J., 1867 [Ms.].

[47] "Your letter to the Secretary of War of the 4th ultimo, enclosing your report of the state of the Indian school under your Superintendency is received. I am directed to acknowledge it, and to convey to you the Secretary's approval; and the expression of his hopes that your benevolent labors for the enlightening of a portion of our Indians may be more and more prosperous." M'Kenney to Van Quickenborne, November 3, 1826.

acceptable to the zealous Van Quickenborne, no doubt, than any note of secular approval was the commendatory statement made by his Superior, Father Dzierozynski, on the occasion of the latter's visit to Florissant in the summer of 1827.

> The Indian school has one teacher, a lay-brother. Thanks be to God, it makes excellent progress alike in morals, letters and manual labor in the fields, where every day, both morning and afternoon, the boys spend some hours with their instructors. The boys number only thirteen, but the house cannot accommodate any more. There is a similar school for Indian girls in the village of St. Ferdinand, a famous old Spanish settlement. This is in charge of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart. The pupils number as many as in the boys' school, their education being looked to by the Ladies, their support by the Rector of the Florissant establishment, who by dint of alms and the produce of his farm endeavors to the best of his ability to supply them with food and clothing, however poor these may be. I was highly pleased to hear the Indian girls recite their catechism. Who made you? Who redeemed you? Who sanctified you? To all such questions they replied with childlike simplicity. A more elaborate exhibition was given by ours at Florissant. St. Ignatius day was celebrated with a Solemn High Mass and panegyric in St. Ferdinand's church, some of the Indian boys singing with Ours in the choir. After dinner in a sort of rustic amphitheatre festooned with flowers and greenery the Indian boys underwent an examination in their studies, the best of them being awarded prizes. After the specimen, one of their number, of more than usual capacity and diligence, came to my room very quietly so as not to be seen by the others and asked me to take him along with me to Georgetown College. "If I remain here I shall go to the bad." I encouraged him with the assurance that grace to preserve his innocence would not fail him in Missouri. He took me at my word and went away satisfied.[48]

VI

In the event, St. Regis Seminary failed to realize its early promise. It does not appear that Father Van Quickenborne's management of the school commended itself at all times to his associates in the educational venture, though never was there reason to doubt that he was guided by other motive than zeal for the best interests of the institution. "It is clear to me now," wrote in later years one who did not see eye to eye with him in the affairs of the school, "that he always acted as he thought best

[48] *Historia Missionis Missourianae* [Ms.].

under the circumstances and always had before his eyes *Ad majorem Dei gloriam.*"[49] As to his management of the school, the opinion was expressed that he was unduly severe in his treatment of some of the boys and that the hours of work were too many and the hours of study too few. Yet there is much to show that a very substantial tenderness of heart underlay whatever severity showed itself in the outward manner of this sturdy Fleming. The man charged with too drastic treatment of his Indian pupils could thus plead with them with his Superior in Maryland when, apparently against his own judgment and wishes, he was required to expel some of their number from the school.

> The boys expelled by me are not discouraged. All are highly praised. I say only what was said to me. One made his first Communion under Father De Theux and goes to the Sacraments every month and was first in Catechism. Maximus, son of the Ioway chief, is in St. Charles and is spoken of highly by Father Smedts. The third is in Portage and works hard and behaves himself. The two others are so small that they can scarcely do anything. When I met one of them scarcely six years old and saw him, whom I had received as a son, now being treated as a little slave by his new master, my feelings got the better of me and I almost fainted. I think that your Reverence with a knowledge of the circumstances would not have given the orders you did, and I ask you that we may be permitted to deal more gently with these little things whom we have only yesterday rescued from the wild beasts of the forest. However, I am prepared to obey the orders of Rev. Father Superior.[50]

The last report forwarded to Washington by Father Van Quickenborne, that for the year ending September 30, 1830, stated that in December, 1830, there were only two pupils attending the school.[51] In May, 1832, Elbert Herring, who had succeeded Colonel M'Kenney as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, wrote to Father Van Quickenborne asking, "Is the Department to infer from your having ceased to draw from the sum allowed or to transmit the required report, that you no longer claim any aid from the Government?"

The Superior's reply, dated July 10, brought a second letter from Mr. Herring.

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[49] Elet ad Dzierozynski, May 20, 1835.
[50] Van Quickenborne to Dzierozynski, 1825.
[51] Indian Office Ms. Records.

"The Department," he said, "cannot with any propriety continue to bestow a part of the Public Funds entrusted to it in aid of an Institution which the principal himself represents to have had hardly an existence for more than two years. It cannot, therefore, permit you to expect that your request that the allowance for the past year and the current one will be paid. If you should succeed in reëstablishing the school, your communication of the fact will meet with prompt attention and you will receive such assistance as the circumstances seem to demand."[52]

With this communication from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs the business relations between St. Regis Seminary and the United States Government came to an end. The last Indian boy left June 30, 1831, and the institution passed into history.[53] That it was a model Indian school no one conversant with the facts will venture to maintain. Too remote a location from the Indian villages, probably certain mistakes in the management of the school, but especially lack of proper financial support, were among the reasons for the failure of the institution to realize a larger measure of success. Yet we are not to conclude that the labors of the men who through six years maintained against discouraging odds the first Catholic Indian School in the United States had gone for nothing. The author of the *Annual Letters* of the Missouri Mission for 1830 notes that many former pupils of the Seminary were living among the whites and continued to

[52] Herring to Van Quickenborne, May 30, 1832.

[53] The boys in attendance were not for the most part of pure Indian stock. Their number, which during the entire life of the school did not go beyond thirty in all, included ten full-blooded Indians of five different tribes, Osage chiefly, and twenty metifs or half-breeds. Almost one-half of the half-breeds were illegitimate. All the full blooded Indians, with the exception of two who were dismissed for breaches of morality, were taken away by their parents. [Contemporary Ms. memorandum.] Father Van Quickenborne was disappointed both in the number and quality of Indian boys furnished him by the Indian agents and, with a view largely to obtain suitable pupils for his school, made personal visits to the Osage in their villages along the Neosho river. "This visit [of the Iowa chiefs] and other circumstances have made me see much better than before how little we can rely on Indians or on the efforts of Indian Agents in behalf of our Seminary. You must remember what the Secretary of War said to Bishop Du Bourg, viz: that he wanted Jesuits. Now, Rev. Father Superior, we must go out and make a choice of Indian boys. Let the Indians know us. Agents have told me this and General Clark is dubious of the success of the undertaking unless we do it." Van Quickenborne to Dzierozynski, January 10, 1825. A highly interesting account of Van Quickenborne's bringing a little Indian "prince" from the Osage country to Florissant in 1828, is given by him in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, 4: 578.

receive the sacraments monthly. Around one of them in particular hung something of the odor of sanctity and the holy end he made as a mere boy was the admiration of all who witnessed it.[54] Sometimes, too, Jesuit missionaries of later years would find a foothold for some missionary enterprise in the sympathy and good will of one-time pupils of the Florissant Indian School. Thus, when Fathers De Smet and Verreydt ascended the Missouri in 1838 to open the Potowatomi Mission at Council Bluffs, they were welcomed at a stopping place on the way by Francis, the Iowa chief, whom Father De Smet had instructed at St. Regis Seminary and who would gladly have kept his former teacher to minister to his people.[55]

As to Father Van Quickenborne, he rested from his labors at the comparatively early age of forty-nine, dying at Portage des Sioux in Missouri, August 17, 1837. He did not live to see the day, brighter than his own, when his associates of the Jesuit Mission of Missouri were enabled to set on foot the two highly successful Indian schools which they maintained through many years on behalf of the Potowatomi and Osage tribes; but he blazed the way in the field of Catholic Indian education in the United States and the praise of the pioneer and pathfinder is his. For the rest, the tribute of the historian, John Gilmary Shea, may here find a place:

> To Father Van Quickenborne, as the founder of the Vice-Province of Missouri and the Indian Missions, too little honor has been paid. His name is almost unknown, yet few have contributed more to the education of the white and the civilization of the red man, to the sanctification of all.[56]

Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J.,
St. Louis University,
St. Louis, Mo.

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[54] *Litterae Annuae Missionis Missourianae*, 1823-1834, p. 24 [Ms.].

[55] Chittenden and Richardson's *De Smet*, 1: 152. Two sons of Pahuska or White Hair, head Osage chief, their names Clèrémont and Grètomonsé, the latter head chief of the tribe in 1852, were pupils at St. Regis, where they were baptized. *Osage Mission Register* (Archives of Passionist Monastery, St. Paul, Kansas).

[56] Shea, *History of the Catholic Missions, etc.*, p. 466.

MISCELLANY

FLORIDA'S FIRST BISHOP

Rt. Rev. Juan Juárez, O. F. M.

On page 171 of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW for July, 1918, the Rev. Edwin Ryan, D.D., writes: "Florida is said to have been made (ecclesiastically) independent of Cuba and a bishop (Juan Suarez) appointed in 1527. I gave the statement" (in issue of July, 1916) "for what it was worth, but I have since come to suspect that it is worth nothing. It rests *altogether on a single piece of evidence*, and that from a source not altogether trustworthy, viz., the *Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia de la Florida* of Barcia, published under the anagram of Don Gabriel de Cardenas y Cano at Madrid in 1723. Here Father Suarez is called a bishop, but *no other writer* so entitles him, nor is his name to be found in any list of Spanish-American bishops."[1]

The late Dr. Gilmary Shea is even more emphatic. "Barcia," he says, "in his *Ensayo Cronologico*, speaks of Father Xuarez as Bishop, but neither Cabeza de Vaca nor Torquemada evidently knew anything of his election to the episcopate, and the portrait[2] is absolutely without anything indicative of his being a bishop. There is no trace of the erection of any See or Diocese of Rio de Palmas; his name occurs in no work giving the list of bishops in Spanish America, when even his nomination by the king would have entitled him to wear outward marks of the episcopal character. We must therefore regard this statement of Barcia as utterly unfounded."[3]

Furthermore, in an article of the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*[4] Dr. Shea, reviewing *Alzog's Church History* as translated into English by Dr. Pabisch and Dr. Byrne, now Bishop of Nashville, makes this forcible declaration: "In the Spanish portion we find the *silly fable* of Friar Juan Xuarez having been Bishop of Florida given as a fact . . . That Xuarez was a bishop is *contradicted by every contemporaneous document*, by the silence of *all Spanish writers*, and by intrinsic facts. The reference made to a modern French writer, who compiled without accurate guides, was the *only authority* for the *fable*."

The italics are mine. It would seem that Fr. Juárez has a poor chance of retaining even the shadow of a mitre. However, let us see.

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[1] Italics are mine.

[2] Shown in SHEA, *History of the Catholic Church*, Vol. i, p. 109.

[3] SHEA, *Hist. Cath. Church*, Vol. i, 111.

[4] Vol. iv, p. 138.

Good Dr. Shea could be very positive and emphatic; nevertheless, he could err just as well as other mortals. Students of his works have discovered that time and time again. At all events, when he asserted that every contemporaneous document contradicts the claim that Fr. Juárez was a bishop, and that all Spanish writers are silent about that subject, Dr. Shea committed an egregious blunder. He might have quoted at least one or two documents that contradict the claim. That would be evidence.

Let us first learn who Fr. Juárez was. Fr. Juan Juárez (also written Xuarez, Suarez, Suares) was one of the so-called *Twelve Apostles of Mexico*, the fourth on the list, that is to say, twelve Franciscans who came from Spain to Mexico in 1524, and affected such a general conversion of the natives that, for a long time after, the converts would date their affairs from "the year when the Faith came," *i. e.*, 1524. Fr. Juan was a native of Valencia, Spain, and became a member of the Franciscan province of San Gabriel. Soon after his arrival in New Spain, as Mexico was called in early history, Fr. Juárez was made guardian or superior of the convent of Huexotcingo. There he labored with much zeal and success for about two years, when he returned to Spain in order to enlist more missionaries, and to plead the cause of the Indians before the royal court. While thus occupied, he was chosen to accompany the expedition of Pámfilo de Narvaez, who in 1527, prepared to found a colony in Florida on a grand scale. Fr. Juárez received the appointment of *comisario* for the little band of friars who joined the expedition in order to labor for the conversion of the Indians. Cabeza de Vaca always mentions Fr. Juárez under the title of *comisario*. In order that the new settlement might possess a complete and independent organization from the beginning in ecclesiastical affairs as well as in secular matters, Fr. Juan Juárez was nominated Bishop of Florida and Rio de las Palmas (now Pánuco) in Mexico. Such is the affirmative side of the case, which, of course, must produce its proofs,

There is no evidence that Fr. Juárez ever received episcopal *consecration*, nor has any one claimed as much; but there is fairly abundant authority, besides Shea's "modern French writer," whoever he may be, to show that Fr. Juan Juárez was *nominated* Bishop of Florida and Rio de las Palmas by the Spanish king. That suffices, according to Dr. Shea himself, to honor with the title of bishop the first Franciscan who entered the territory of the United States. "Under the Bull of Julius II, the Catholic king could nominate bishops in the Indies. They were constantly spoken of as bishops."[5]

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[5] SHEA, in *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, Vol. iv, p. 139.

If there be no mention of Fr. Juárez in any list of Spanish-American Bishops, *quod est demonstrandum*, that would signify nothing, because Florida never was under the jurisdiction, either ecclesiastical or political, of New Spain, by which we mean Mexico. Nor was Florida under the jurisdiction of Cuba at the time of the Narvaez expedition. It was directly subject to Spain then and very long thereafter. At any rate, it would have to be shown that the episcopal lists always included mere bishops-elect. If so, and Fr. Juárez alone were omitted, then, *in the absence on any other proof*, the claim might be safely termed a silly fable, indeed.

In an earlier work,[6] Dr. Shea writes, "Fr. John Juarez went not only as Superior of the mission, but also, annalists assure us, as Bishop of Florida." He changed his mind later, which, of course, he had a right to do if he discovered evidence to the contrary; but if he found any such proof he has never divulged it.

Several historical writers in the nineteenth century thought the evidence strong enough to give Fr. Juárez the title of bishop. The translators of *Alzog's Church History*, already mentioned, admitted nomination of Fr. Juárez to the See of Florida, and for this Dr. Shea assails them somewhat savagely, as we have seen, but with little reason. Their affirmative was as good, at least, as his negative, until he had produced some evidence to support him.

R. H. Clarke, author of the *Lives of the Deceased Bishops in the United States*,[7] devotes *eleven pages* to the "Rt. Rev. Juan Juarez, O.S.F., First Bishop of Florida."

George Bancroft, author of the *History of the United States*,[8] appears to have accepted the fact, for he says: "Florida at once obtained a governor; it now constituted a part of a bishopric."

Very Rev. Fr. Pámfilo da Magliano, O.S.F., in his *St. Francis and the Franciscans*,[9] writes: "Annalists assure us that Fr. John Juarez was also Bishop of Florida."

The *Ensayo Cronologico*,[10] mentioned by Dr. Ryan as the only authority for the statement, declares: "Iba Fr. Juan Suarez por Obispo de aquel Distrito, desde el Rio de las Palmas hasta la Florida" ("Fr. Juan Suarez went as Bishop of that district, which extends from the Rio de las Palmas to Florida"). Dr. Shea quotes this work frequently.

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[6] *Catholic Missions*, New York, 1854, p. 40.
[7] New York, 1872.
[8] Vol. i, p. 34.
[9] New York, 1867, p. 571.
[10] *Ad annum* 1527, p. 9.

If its author is regarded trustworthy on other subjects of history, it is not clear why he should not be called as witness in this case.

The picture to which Dr. Shea alludes[11] as having been taken from the original portrait in the convent of Tlaltelalco, where the portraits of the other eleven friars are to be found, can be only a fanciful copy, because photography had not as yet been discovered. Out of the *Twelve Apostles*, so called, *four* were named bishops, not counting Fr. Juárez. Hence, there would be some force in Dr. Shea's contention if the pictures of these four Franciscan friars exhibited any episcopal insignia whilst the portrait of Fr. Juárez alone lacked such evidence.

It so happened that in 1905, when I visited Mexico, there was in the gallery of the Museo Nacional at the capital of Mexico a large oil-painting. It represented Fr. Juan Juárez in Franciscan habit and cloak. To the right of the figure of this friar on a stand or table against the wall stood upright an episcopal mitre. The inscription beneath also contained some proof. It read as follows: "El Venerable P. Fr. Juan Suares, Hijo de esta Santa Provincia, Insigne en Pulpito y Cathedra. Renunció todos los oficios de la Orden y la Mitra de el Rio de las Palmas. Murió con fama de Santidad." ("The Venerable Father Juan Suares, Member of this holy Province, distinguished as preacher and professor. He declined all the offices of the Order and the mitre of Rio de la Palmas. He died in the odor of sanctity.")

The "provincia" mentioned in the inscription is the Franciscan Province of the Holy Gospel, which now comprises the eastern portion of Mexico. I had the painting photographed, and still possess two poorly executed prints thereof.

Lest there be doubt as to the identity of this Fr. Juan Suáres with the nominee to the Florida diocese, I examined the list of Franciscan bishops-elect in the *Menologio* of Vetancurt, and found that Fr. Juan Suáres is the fourth on the list. No date is given, but he precedes Fr. Francisco Ximenes, who was named first Bishop of Oaxaca on May 14, 1534. The entry reads: "El V. P. Fr. Juan Suares fue electo en Obispo de la Provincia del Rio de las Palmas, segun Antonio Herrera, lib. 4, decada 4, cap. 3.[12]

Again, in the *Menologio*, or Martyrology proper, for the date of March 21, Vetancurt says: "Fue electo Fr. Juan Suares en Obispo de la Provincia del Rio de las Palmas, segun Antonio Herrera dice." ("Fr. Juan Suares was elected Bishop of the Province of the Rio de las Palmas,

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[11] A full-page engraving is shown on page 109 of SHEA's *History of the Catholic Church*, Vol. i.

[12] *Menologio Franciscano*, by FR. AUGUSTIN DE VETANCURT, Mexico, 1697, p. 137.

according to the testimony of Antonio Herrera, in his book 4, decada 4, chapter 3.)[13]

Incidentally another witness turns up in Herrera. This work, however, I have not.

Turning to Latin historians, we have two excellent authorities in Fr. Francis Harold and Fr. Luke Wadding, both Irishman. The former, in his *Epitome Annalium Ordinis Minorum*,[14] writes as follows: "Alii quoque Franciscani ad Yucatanae peninsulam missi sunt . . . His autem a Caesare serio commissum est, ut Dei suasque leges a provinciarum praefectis observari curarent, nec tyrannice cum Indianis agi permitterent . . . Sed idipsum quoque *Designato Episcopo Franciscano*, et quatuor Fratribus commendatum est, *qui cum Pamphilo de Narvaez, Provinciae Floridae et Palmarum Fluvii Praefecto* transfretarunt." "Other Franciscans were also sent to the peninsula of Yucatan . . . These religious were earnestly charged by the emperor to see that the provincial governors observed God's Laws and his own, and not to permit Indians to be treated tyrannically . . . The same was imposed upon the *Franciscan Bishop-elect*, and the four Friars, who were making the voyage with Pamphilo de Narvaez, Governor of Florida and the Rio de las Palmas."

In paragraph 5, ad annum 1527, Fr. Harold emphasizes the previous statement by naming the bishop-elect. "Ex eadem Observatium familia selecti sunt aliquot: pro Episcopatu in urbe Mexicana erigendo, Fr. Joannes a Zumárraga; pro Darieni Episcopatu missus est Fr. Martin de Béjar; *ad Floridae provinciae sedam Fr. Joannes Suárez*, quibus etiam graviter commendatum est, etc." ("Of the Family of the Observant Franciscans some were chosen: for the Diocese to be erected in the City of Mexico, Fr. Juan de Zumárraga; for the Darian Diocese was sent Fr. Martin de Béjar; and for the See of the Province of Florida, Fr. Juan Suárez was appointed, who were likewise strictly charged, etc.")

Here we have the most important circumstance pointed out that Fr. Juan Juárez received the nomination as bishop at the same time with two other bishops-elect whose names and titles are specified exactly.

Finally the great Franciscan Annalist Fr. Luke Wadding in his *Annales Ordinis Minorum*,[15] relates: "Hoc anno 1527, . . . Carolus Imperator rogatus a provinciarum paraefectis, et Suis Conciliariis persuasus, nominavit pro Episcopatu erigendo in Urbe Mexicana, Fr. Joannem de Zumárraga; pro Episcopatu Sanctae Mariae Darieni, Fr.

[13] *Menologio Franciscano*, pp. 32, 155.

[14] Rome, 1662, tom. ii, *ad annum* 1527, No. 4.

[15] Rome, 1654, Tom. xvi, p. 247, parag. xvi.

Martinum de Béjar; *pro Episcopatu vastissimæ provinciæ Floridæ*, Fr. Joannem Suárez: quos statim hoc anno, vel sub initium sequentis, ad commissas sibi provincias amandavit, ut malis discordiis, quae vigebant inter provinciarum praefectos, et gravissimis Indorum pressuris mederentur." ("This year, 1527, Emperor Charles, petitioned by the governors of the provinces, and persuaded by his councillors, named for the Diocese to be erected in the City of Mexico, Fr. Juan de Zumárraga; for the Darian Diocese of St. Mary, Fr. Martin de Béjar; for the *Diocese of the vast Province of Florida, Fr. Juan Suárez.* The emperor ordered these bishops-elect to proceed at once, this year or at the beginning of the following year, to the charges committed to them, in order to remedy the evils and discords prevailing among the governors of the provinces, and to remove the exceedingly heavy burdens from the Indians.")

Historians thus far had overlooked a most important factor in the transaction—the name of the ruler who nominated the three dignitaries. Fr. Wadding happily supplies it. No less a personage than Emperor Charles V. made the nominations.

Those were not the days of steamships and railroads, of the telegraph and telephone. Between the appointment of a bishop by the king and the arrival of the Bulls from the Pope authorizing the consecration years often passed by, so that sometimes the bishop-elect departed from life before the consecration could take place. This was the case with Fr. Juan Juárez, who had been ordered to Florida and to exercise episcopal jurisdiction without awaiting the Pope's Bulls. Fr. Zumárraga, on the other hand, had to wait for his consecration until Sunday, April 27, 1533, *six years* after his nomination to the See of Mexico. Yet during all that period he exercised his episcopal authority.

Bishop-elect Fr. Juan Juárez was accompanied by the lay-brother Juan de Palos, also one of the "Twelve Apostles," three Franciscan priests, and several secular priests. The expedition consisted of more than four hundred persons; for Narvaez dreamed of conquering another empire of Mexico, and of surpassing even Hernando Cortés. So the intrinsic facts, Dr. Shea to the contrary notwithstanding, really called for a person clothed with episcopal authority in the great colony to be established independently of either Mexico or Cuba. The fleet sailed from San Lucar, Spain, on June 17, 1527. After a stormy voyage and long delays, the ships reached the coast of Florida on Holy Thursday, April 14, 1528. When a landing could be made, Narvaez and his following were exceedingly disappointed to find that the great cities they had expected to subdue proved to be mere Indian villages of the flimsiest construction. Then began the long and disastrous march

through the peninsula. The force, decimated by disease and constant engagements with hostile savages, finally emerged on the Gulf of Mexico. Slowly Narvaez and his disheartened company made their way along the northern shore. To the bright visions of conquest of another Mexico with rich treasures succeeded only the thought of escape; but only four survived the dreadful hardships, and after years, at last, turned up in the far West at Culiacán, Sinaloa. All others, Narvaez and Bishop Juárez included, perished from hunger, or by drowning, or at the hands of infuriated savages, about the end of the year 1528.

ZEPHYRIN ENGELHARDT, O.F.M.,
Old Mission, Santa Barbara, Cal.

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DOCUMENTS

AN HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND NATURAL DESCRIPTION OF CALIFORNIA[1]

By Don Pedro Fages

(*Translated by Herbert I. Priestley, Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley, Cal.*)

Introduction

The document herewith translated into English is one of the earliest descriptions of California extant. It comes from the pen of one of the participants in the first expedition of the Spaniards to Monterey in 1769, and possesses the value of having been composed just at the close of the author's first period of activity in California; it is thus free from the burdensome detail of an actual diary, and is not characterized by the vagueness and unreliability common to reminiscences. As Fages indicates in his title, the work was written as a continuation to the two previously printed works on the Gálvez expedition which he mentions by name. The first of these was the *Estracto de noticias del puerto de Monterrey*, which was published at Mexico over the date August 16, 1770. Of this, a second edition bearing the same date and place was also issued. Both editions are in the Bancroft Library, University of California. The *Estracto de noticias* was reprinted in Father Francisco Palóu's *Relación histórica de la vida . . . del Venerable Padre Fray* Junípero Serra, Mexico, 1787, pp. 108–12, and again in the same author's *Noticias de la Nueva California*, Mexico, 1857 (*Documentos para la historia de Mexico*, series 4, Vols. 6 and 7), and San Francisco, 1874, 4 volumes, as a publication of the California Historical Society. A translation was published in *The Land of Sunshine*, Los Angeles, Vol. 15 (July, 1901), pp. 47–9. Another translation, accompanied by a reprint of the first Mexican edition, was issued by the Academy of Pacific Coast History as Vol. 1, No. 2, of its *Publications*, Berkeley, 1909.

The second and complete account of the expedition, which was promised in the concluding paragraph of the *Estracto*, was written by the engineer Miguel Costansó; it appeared under the title: *Diario histórico de los viages de mar, y tierra hechos al norte de la California*, and was dated October 24, 1770. It is to be inferred that it was printed immediately thereafter. Certainly it was printed earlier than November 20, 1775, for on that date Fages, concluding his *Continuación y suplemento*, said that the *Diario histórico* had already been printed. The British Museum Catalogue gives 1770 as the date of publication. A manuscript copy of the *Diario histórico* was used by William Reveley for his English translation published by Alexander Dalrymple as *An historical journal*

[1] *Continuación y suplemento á los dos impresos que de orden de este Superior Govierno han corrido: el uno con el titulo de* Extracto de noticias del Puerto de Monterrey, *su fecha 16 de Agosto de* 1770; *y el otro titulado* Diario histórico de los viajes de mar y tierra hechos al norte de California *su fecha 24 Octubre del mismo ano. Hase y presenta esta relacion por superior mandato de su Excelencia el Senor Virrey actual de estos reynos, Don Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa, el capitan de infanteria de la Compania Franca de Voluntarios de Cataluna, y comandante militar que ha sido de los nuevos establecimientos en aquellas provincias, Don Pedro Fages. Mexico, November* 20, 1775.

of the expeditions, by sea and land, to the north of California; in 1768, 1769 *and* 1770; *when Spanish establishments were first made at San-Diego and Monte-Rey*, London, 1790. A modern translation into English was published in *The Land of Sunshine*, Vol. 14 (1901), pp. 485–96, and Vol. 15 (1901), pp. 38–47. The Spanish text with English translation was issued by the Academy of Pacific Coast History as Vol. 2, No. 4, of its *Publications*, 1910.

In addition to the two printed works, Fages used in his writing the diary of Miguel Costansó and his own letter to the viceroy, Bucareli, written at Monterey, November 24, 1775. To these written sources he added from his own experiences and observations the more interesting and valuable parts of the document.

The *Continuación y suplemento* apparently was never printed in the original Spanish. A copy of the manuscript came into the possession of M. Ternaux-Compans, and was used to make a translation into French which appeared in *Nouvelles annales des voyages et des sciences géographiques*, Vol. 101 (1844), pp. 145–82, 311–47.

The original signed manuscript is in the Mexican archives, Museo Nacional, *Documentos relativos á las misiones de Californias*, small folio series, Vol. 4. A signed contemporary copy dated November 30, 1775 (ten days later than the foregoing), is in the Spanish archives at Seville, *Estante* 104, *cajón* 6, *legajo* 17. Transcripts from both archives are in the Bancroft Library. The translation herewith presented was made from the transcript from the Mexican archives, which has been compared with the copy from Spain, as well as with a contemporary unsigned copy in the possession of Mr. H. R. Wagner, of Berkeley, California. The textual differences in these various forms of the document are those characteristic of most handwritten archive materials, and have not been noticed in the translation, save for the addition of a vocabulary from San Luis Obispo, which was added from the Seville manuscript.

The document is recognized as of the first importance to California ethnology. The French version was used by Bancroft to a limited extent in his *Native races* and in his *History of California*. More recently an English version in manuscript by Miss M. H. Van Gulpen was used by J. Alden Mason in "The Ethnology of the Salinan Indians" (University of California *Publications in American archaeology and ethnology*, Vol. 10, No. 4, 1912). The document has not until now, however, been made available in English to the public in general or to ethnologists and historians interested in the field surveyed by Fages, hence this new and independent translation is presented.

A word should be said for the author of the *Continuación*. Pedro Fages has a large place in the history of Spanish California. He was a young Catalan, and a lieutenant of Catalonian Volunteers, when he first appeared in Californian annals. He rendered service in New Spain in 1768 as a member of the expedition to Sonora under Colonel Domingo Elizondo against the revolted natives. He was sent to lower California in 1769 to participate in the Gálvez expedition for the occupation of Monterey. He was in command of the military force aboard the *San Carlos*, on which he reached San Diego, May 1, 1769. On land he was second in command to Gaspar de Portolá, whom he accompanied to

Monterey on the two expeditions of 1769-70. Upon the departure of Portolá from California on July 9, Fages was left as *comandante* of the "New Establishments," in which office he continued until May 25, 1774. He was promoted to a captaincy May 4, 1771, and to a lieutenant colonelcy at some time between 1777 and 1781.

His goings and comings within California gave him the experiences which make his untutored observations on California ethnology of such intense interest. In addition to his journeys with Portolá, he made an expedition from Monterey to the vicinity of Alameda in November, 1770. In March and April of 1772 he again visited the bay region with Father Crespi, going as far as the mouth of the San Joaquin River. In May of the same year he spent several weeks in the San Luis Obispo region hunting bears to supply the Monterey establishments with meat. In August he went to San Diego, where he came into conflict with Father Serra over the advisability of establishing new missions without added soldiers to serve as guards. Serra went to Mexico and obtained the removal of Fages on May 25, 1774, but subsequently expressed regret at his removal and appreciation for his services. It was while Fages was in Mexico City, after his recall, that he wrote the *Continuación*.

Subsequently, he served at Guadalajara, and in Indian fighting on the Sonora frontier. In 1781–82 he led an expedition to the Colorado River to punish the Yuma Indians for their destruction of the new mission-colonies there. About this time he made one or more visits to southern California. He was in the Colorado region when on September 10, 1782, he received his appointment as governor of the Californias, in which capacity he served until April 16, 1791. Never again, after his later interesting wanderings, did he find time to write so informative a report as that of 1775. The date of his death is supposed to have been in 1796. He had outlived most of the generation of notables who effected the occupation of California.[2]

AN HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND NATURAL DESCRIPTION OF CALIFORNIA

By Don Pedro Fages

Long Live Jesus, Mary, and Joseph

A continuation of, and supplement to, the two printed works which have been published by order of this Superior Government, one of them under the title: Estracto de noticias del puerto de Monterrey, *dated August 16, 1770, and the other entitled:* Diario histórico de los viages de mar y tierra hechos al norte de California, *dated October 24 of the same year. This narrative is made and presented in obedience to the orders of the present viceroy of these kingdoms, Don Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa, by the captain of infantry of the Free Company of Catalonia Volunteers and former military commandant of the New Settlements in those provinces [the Californias], Don Pedro Fages.*

[2] Interesting details in the life of Fages are contained in Bancroft, *California*, Vol. 1 (1884), chapters xx-xxiii, and in I. B. Richman, *California under Spain and Mexico*, 1911. Two of his diaries have been published by the Academy of Pacific Coast History. Other diaries, and much of his official correspondence, are in the Bancroft Library.

Your Excellency:

Inasmuch as I was left in charge of the military command at the Presidio of San Carlos de Monterey in the early part of July of the year 1770, under instructions and orders which were given me at the time of his departure from the New Settlements in the northern part of California by my commander-in-chief the captain of the Dragoons of Spain, Don Gaspar de Portolá, who set sail from the port of Monterey in the packet *San Antonio* on the ninth day of the same July, I busied myself for a long period of more than four years with all possible determination and diligence in reconnoitering those remote provinces in person, gathering information concerning whatever was conducive to a practical knowledge of them. [I observed] the people who inhabit them, the character of the land and its products, the religion and customs of the uncivilized natives, and other important things which will appear in the course of my narrative, mingled, perhaps, with some few other items of a merely curious nature.

I acknowledge and give due credit to the previous accounts which up to now have been published concerning the overland and maritime expeditions to the famous port of Monterey. Indeed, nothing more exact, definite, well ordered, or expressed with more vivid colors could be conceived of than those accounts, the publication of which I mention above. I confess frankly that my own account is less fortunate in regard to arrangement, clearness, and vigor of expression, but I submit that it is in no wise inferior in point of the sincerity and good faith of what I here set down.

I would indeed have preferred to set forth (either through my own effort or that of some capable person who might have accompanied me on my wide peregrinations) a purely mathematical cosmography of all this considerable part of our American world. But, as this was impossible, I shall content myself with serving the king and my nation to the extent of my slight ability, combining therewith great zeal for the highest fulfilment of my duty under your Excellency's eminently appropriate orders.

Limiting myself then to a brief description only—historical, political, and natural—which may serve to give some idea of the actual state of those important settlements, the purpose of which has been the reduction of the numberless natives of those vast provinces to the faith of Jesus Christ and obedience to our Lord, the King, I have not sought to follow any other order of presentation than that suggested by the original notes made by my own hand as I proceeded with the inspection of places and events as they happened. It is well to put down here that nearly all that I note in my narrative occurred in my presence and before my eyes; what little did not so occur I took from excellent reports the exactness of which I doubt not at all. In the matter of distances, measurements, and other things expressed numerically, I will vouch for them only as judicious estimates in no wise to be understood literally, matters of that nature never being so accepted. Time and opportune governmental measures will some day effect a more complete knowledge of such details, but the task was impossible of accomplishment for one man alone, traveling as I did usually on foot, destitute of the conveniences and means necessary for acquiring exact information.

In addition to my notes I will, wherever necessary, make due use of the diary written on the first overland journey from the port of San Diego in search of the port of Monterey which was not at the time identified. This diary embraces the period from July 14, 1769, to January 24, 1770, and covers the round trip. The manuscript is certainly worthy of the hand that wrote it and of the leader who commanded the expedition. It is very terse, original, and complete in subject matter, and I shall hardly do other than copy faithfully and precisely such parts of it as may serve my purpose. Concerning the new missions and presidios, I will insert at the proper

places the subheads of the letter addressed to you from Monterey on November 24, 1773, in which those matters are handled with the exactness and detail demanded by the condition of the new settlements in northern California.

Notwithstanding the fact that my observations and examinations of those lands are set down in the order of our return from San Francisco (the last port, and the end of our inspection to the northward) to San Diego de Alcalá which is located in 32½° north latitude, just as they appear in the *Estracto de Noticias* printed August 16, it has, however, seemed a better plan for my narrative that the order of presentation should be reversed. I shall deal first, then, with those places and regions to which we first came, discussing them all consecutively up to the port of San Francisco, which is the northern-most one and not far from the port of Monterey, and is, according to an entry of December 30, 1769, in the manuscript diary above cited, situated in 37° 35′ more or less, according to an observation taken on land near the port by the engineer Don Miguel Costansó, who later made an excellent map of the peninsula, a faithful copy of which I have in my possession. On this map the port of San Francisco is situated in the latitude mentioned. Indeed, it was thought, during the first land journey, which covered the period from July, 1769, to January, 1770, and not without some show of probability, that the latitudes observed at an earlier date by General Sebastián Vizcaíno and the pilot Cabrera Bueno were in marked error concerning the noteworthy ports and other places on the west or exterior side of the peninsula. This opinion may be seen expressed in the diary referred to in the entry dated Tuesday, December 5. It was, however, shortly afterward discovered that the error was very slight—so insignificant, indeed, that we must marvel at the cleverness and dexterity of those men who, using instruments very inferior to those we have today, and methods and rules less expeditious than those of this century, were yet able by dint of application and diligence to approximate accuracy so closely in their observations. This just praise must be conceded to our skilled national travelers and explorers, that they may receive the due acknowledgment of our posterity.

This being all I have to say by way of introduction, I will now begin my narrative.

ARTICLE I

Which Treats of the Lands Discovered and of the Natives Who Inhabit the Territory Extending from San Diego de Alcalá Northward Some Thirty Leagues in California

On the first journey by land, between the 14th and the 25th of July, 1769, our company of explorers made ten day's marches from San Diego to San Francisco Solano, a distance estimated at twenty-six leagues in a direction varying occasionally and slightly from the north and northwest toward the west.

The places examined on the march during this journey were, as they were named, as follows: First, the Cañada de San Diego (which was well-grassed), two leagues distant from the port of the same name. Second, the Poza de Osuna or de San Jacome de la Marca, which is also a pleasant, beautiful canyon all covered with pasture and in some places probably as much as twenty yards wide, with a few trees and a quantity of water collected in numerous pools. This place was distant from the preceding one about four leagues, the way being easy of transit and abounding in pasture. Our course was always northwestward in so far as the lay of the land permitted. Though the country was void of undergrowth and not at all rough, it was broken by numerous moderate-sized hills that all sloped uniformly to the level of the sea, the waters of which penetrated between the hills through several channels where salt is deposited in abundance.

Third: Going three leagues to the north and northwest over high ground interspersed with hills similar to those just mentioned, in a delightful spot wooded with alders and thick shrubbery with very abundant pasture, one comes to a canyon which was called San Alejos. Water is not abundant, nor is it entirely lacking; it was necessary to dig out the sand and make pools so as to water the animals from a small spring.

Fourth: Two leagues farther on there was another canyon, swampy and better supplied with water, which was named Santa Sinforosa. It was covered in places with reeds, and contained abundant pasture throughout.

Fifth: Another two leagues farther on, there is a very delightful and pleasantly picturesque valley of ample proportions, into which there converge from the north and northeast a number of canyons in which is formed a pool or swamp which supplied us satisfactorily with water. The place was named San Juan Capistrano.

Sixth: Continuing through canyons and along gentle hill-slopes, one passes through pleasant pasture-lands to another spot two leagues distant from the preceding one. It is a spacious, cheerful canyon, well wooded and well supplied with fresh water which has collected in numerous pools, although there is in the midst of it a fair-sized pond of brackish water. This place was named Santa Margarita.

Seventh: Two leagues farther to the northwest over hills of moderate height was a place to which the name of Los Rosales was given. It lay at the end of a canyon which contained plenty of water in numerous pools, and the entire locality abounds in rose-bushes.

Eighth: The Cañada del Bautismo is distant from the above place two leagues due north. It received its name from the happy incident of the baptism there of two dying children whom the missionary fathers found in that sad condition in the care of their Indian parents.

Ninth: Three leagues thence northwestward over a road somewhat broken but not very difficult, is found another canyon which was named Santa María Magdalena. It abounds in pasture, in willows, and in other trees, and there is a large quantity of water collected in pools.

Tenth: Finally, at a distance of three leagues farther on without change of direction, after passing through a canyon which opens into the Cañada de Santa María Magdalena, turning westward at the end of the canyon to the crest of some hills and thence crossing a wide stretch of level country, one enters another canyon through which, at the foot of a moderately high range, a good-sized stream flows among numerous trees. This is the place named San Francisco Solano.

From the narrative of the diarist it is observed that, on the second day's march, four leagues from San Diego, some Indians of a village on the coast appeared, and, though they showed great hesitancy to approach our men, they soon dismissed their fears and remained paying attentions to our men to the point of importunity and annoyance. They were inordinately gratified by our attentions and by the presents we made them, such as strings of glass beads and other trinkets which they greatly admired, and they were unwilling to leave our camp until we departed on the following day. From this point, for approximately two hundred leagues of our journey northward, and for the same distance on our return, the Indians came voluntarily to nearly every place where our men camped, that they might present themselves to us and show us honors, demonstrating the most complete confidence. Here, they presented us fish, there, nuts, pine-nuts, acorns, and other seeds prepared after their fashion. Our men made themselves understood by signs, and they in like manner indicated to us the road, the watering-places, and other matters concerning which we required

information for our guidance on the march. It was never necessary for us to use our weapons for any purpose save to obtain some game, which was generally bears. The flesh of these has a pleasant flavor. Fowl were not lacking in many places, for numerous geese and ducks were hunted.

Up to this point appear facts taken from the diary of the land expedition or of which I was a witness, I having been one of the exploring party, in the capacity of lieutenant of the company of Volunteers of Catalonia.

State of the Missions in the Territory Above Mentioned

Concerning the state of the missions in this district, I reproduce what I previously reported to your Excellency in my letter of reply dated at the Presidio de San Carlos de Monterey, November 24, 1773; the paragraph of it which concerns this district is substantially in the following words:

The mission of San Diego de Alcalá was the first among the new missions of California, founded at the port of the same name in June, 1769, at the time when the sea and land expeditions were there united. The land expedition set out on July 14, as has previously been stated, in search of the port of Monterey. At San Diego there remained certain Mexican cuirassiers, with some of the members of my company of Volunteers of Catalonia who had become incapacitated by illness and who died within a few weeks. It happened then, a short time after our expedition had left, that the Indians of the village situated near the port, having been joined by some of their neighbors, became so bold as to come and besiege the camp, doubtless feeling sure of victory as they were superior numerically to our men, of whom few were able to take up arms and assume the defensive. They killed three natives and put to death some others who had been wounded. The rest were all put to flight, and have learned caution from experience, for since that time they have not committed nor even attempted any hostile act, at least publicly or as an affront. Under cover of night, however, and in the dark they have not hesitated to discharge arrows at the horses, killing some of our animals, perhaps rather for the sake of satisfying their hunger than by way of insult or of taking revenge. They remained in retirement for some time after their chastisement, but later they began to appear in the vicinity of the camp. Little by little they have been reduced, so that today the reverend fathers have already baptised more than eighty persons; among them are twelve families of a village not far distant, where they lodge in huts of brush and reeds. Those who are reduced attend regularly at Mass, indoctrination, and prayers; other natives yet unconquered who live with them come now and then and present themselves to the ministers of the Holy Gospel, who do not omit to attract them with suavity to the catechism. From the other villages (there are more than twenty) within a radius of ten leagues, there are a few who frequent the mission and listen to the recitation of the Christian doctrine. All the natives of that vicinage are very orderly, and have no cause to fear or to be feared.

It should be understood that the mission of San Diego was founded on a hill commanding the port and the Punta de Guijarras. It was situated at the side of a stream which, flowing only during the rainy season, passes through a long spacious canyon wooded with willows, alders, vines, and roses of Castile, trees of varieties other than the above also occurring. There are ponds or pools, which contain a sufficient supply of water for the use of the camp and for the mission during the entire year; but as it is not practicable to obtain irrigating water for the fields and tillable lands, life there will always be attended by the necessity of obtaining supplies for the

information for our guidance on the march. It was never necessary for us to use our weapons for any purpose save to obtain some game, which was generally bears. The flesh of these has a pleasant flavor. Fowl were not lacking in many places, for numerous geese and ducks were hunted.

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State of the Missions in the Territory Above Mentioned

Concerning the state of the missions in this district, I reproduce what I previously reported to your Excellency in my letter of reply dated at the Presidio de San Carlos de Monterey, November 24, 1773; the paragraph of it which concerns this district is substantially in the following words:

The mission of San Diego de Alcalá was the first among the new missions of California, founded at the port of the same name in June, 1769, at the time when the sea and land expeditions were there united. The land expedition set out on July 14, as has previously been stated, in search of the port of Monterey. At San Diego there remained certain Mexican cuirassiers, with some of the members of my company of Volunteers of Catalonia who had become incapacitated by illness and who died within a few weeks. It happened then, a short time after our expedition had left, that the Indians of the village situated near the port, having been joined by some of their neighbors, became so bold as to come and besiege the camp, doubtless feeling sure of victory as they were superior numerically to our men, of whom few were able to take up arms and assume the defensive. They killed three natives and put to death some others who had been wounded. The rest were all put to flight, and have learned caution from experience, for since that time they have not committed nor even attempted any hostile act, at least publicly or as an affront. Under cover of night, however, and in the dark they have not hesitated to discharge arrows at the horses, killing some of our animals, perhaps rather for the sake of satisfying their hunger than by way of insult or of taking revenge. They remained in retirement for some time after their chastisement, but later they began to appear in the vicinity of the camp. Little by little they have been reduced, so that today the reverend fathers have already baptised more than eighty persons; among them are twelve families of a village not far distant, where they lodge in huts of brush and reeds. Those who are reduced attend regularly at Mass, indoctrination, and prayers; other natives yet unconquered who live with them come now and then and present themselves to the ministers of the Holy Gospel, who do not omit to attract them with suavity to the catechism. From the other villages (there are more than twenty) within a radius of ten leagues, there are a few who frequent the mission and listen to the recitation of the Christian doctrine. All the natives of that vicinage are very orderly, and have no cause to fear or to be feared.

It should be understood that the mission of San Diego was founded on a hill commanding the port and the Punta de Guijarras. It was situated at the side of a stream which, flowing only during the rainy season, passes through a long spacious canyon wooded with willows, alders, vines, and roses of Castile, trees of varieties other than the above also occurring. There are ponds or pools, which contain a sufficient supply of water for the use of the camp and for the mission during the entire year; but as it is not practicable to obtain irrigating water for the fields and tillable lands, life there will always be attended by the necessity of obtaining supplies for the

maintenance of the people. Attempts have been made at sowing grain in season, but the first year the stream overflowed and carried away the seed which had been sowed at the right season. The following year the attempt was repeated, the grain being then sowed farther back from the stream; but as the rains did not come in season it was possible to harvest only a little for seed. This seed it was planned to put into the ground (which is indeed not to be called sterile) at some more suitable place upstream, where the rainfall is said to be greater and more regular. Unless this proves to be the case, it will be impossible for the mission to exist there long. Nor has there been found, even after great and painstaking search, any permanent water-supply whereby sowing of irrigated crops might be undertaken. For flocks and herds there are excellent places with plenty of water and abundance of pasture. The natives of the adjacent villages do not lack for their customary seeds, and they add to their food supply by fishing. They would secure better results if they had canoes in which to go out. It would be well if the mission had a canoe of its own and a good fishnet to use in supplying its needs.

The church building is situated within a palisade; it is constructed after the native style, of poles and reeds. The dwelling and the office buildings are built partly of wood and partly of sun-dried clay blocks. The reverend fathers have sketched a plan, and have dug the foundation-trenches for another and larger building, to be made entirely of *adobes*. They have a supply of the latter as well as of stone; but the inevitable lack of food and supplies will not permit the acceleration of this important task.

Natural and Political History

The Indians of the entire region between San Diego and San Francisco Solano are of a light brown color with homely features and ungainly figures; they are dirty, very slovenly, and withal evil-looking, suspicious, treacherous, and have scant friendship for the Spaniards. Each village is despotically governed by a single captain, who has but one wife at a time, but each one dismisses his wives and takes others whenever he cares to do so. The education which they give their children consists merely of the fathers teaching the boys whatever skill and dexterity they may themselves happen to possess; the girls are taught whatever best suits them, they having perfect liberty to choose.

The deity which they adore, and there is one presiding over every village, is an aged Indian whom they themselves choose, raising him to that great dignity by acclamation; to him they make ceremonial offerings of seeds and various eatables. When there are wars—as there frequently are among the various villages as the results of disputes concerning the fruits of the earth and women—they protect this old man by shutting him up inside of a wall or fence made of tall, strong, closely set logs. Within this enclosure there is a space like a parade ground, all mined and counter-mined in different directions. The passages extend outside the wall for twelve or fifteen yards, and have openings through which they can reconnoiter and hold communication with the divinity, providing him with food during the time of trouble and protecting him from surprise or injury by the enemy. In this manner they on such occasions become the tutelary gods (according to their crass mode of thought) of the very god whom they worship in time of peace and prosperity.

In this territory there are to be seen, besides a number of other land animals, deer, antelope, conies, hares without number, wild cats, wolves, some bears, coyotes, and squirrels of three kinds. Among the birds there are various kinds of thrushes, and a few birds of prey. There are also quail, sparrows, mocking birds, woodpeckers, vultures, and buzzards. The aquatic birds are pelicans, herons, ducks, divers, mud-

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hens, and other kinds. The land produces, though not in abundance, acorns, wild grapes, some asparagus, and a kind of berry (called *gabarneda* in Catalonia) on the bushes of the roses of Castile, which are really seed-pods, and have a very pleasant flavor after they have been roasted for a short time in a slow fire. There are extensive growths of kidney beans (*jojobas*), and three varieties of cactus fruit. Along the seacoast of the territory under consideration there are seen some young whale and other marine animals. Among the desirable fish there occur the sole and the tunny.

Most of the natives of this region go absolutely naked. The few of them who take pleasure in the use of clothing wear a sleeveless doublet made of undressed strips of rabbit or otter skins twisted and put together with some degree of skill. Among the men this garment does not usually fall much below the waist. The women cover themselves with aprons made of the leaves of reeds softened by beating and gathered at one end into a belt worn around the waist but hanging for the remaining part loose down to the knees. Over this fine garment they wear a pair of undressed deer-skins poorly tanned, which serve as a skirt. If the weather is cold and raw, they usually cover their backs with a third skin. Such is the simplicity of dress of these wretched people, and those who take even this small care are, as I have said, comparatively few.

Article II

From San Francisco Solano to the Rio de Santa Clara

Our party could not avoid breaking this stage of the journey into thirteen marches, the sum of which was estimated as thirty-two leagues' advance in fifteen days, including four days of rest needed to allow time for the advance scouts. The halting-places examined and designated by the names which were then bestowed, occur in the following order:

First: Setting out from San Francisco Solano toward the north, over rather high hills easily traversed, one descends to a very spacious valley the level stretch of which extends as far as the eye can reach. In the first part of it there was found no watering place save a very scant one that was named after its discoverer, one of the missionary fathers who accompanied us, the Watering-place of Father Gómez.

Second: Continuing in the same direction across the plain, at a distance of three leagues there was found another stream of very good running water. It descended from the range, and must in the rainy season be of considerable swiftness and volume. This place was named Santiago.

Third: One league farther on there is a very beautiful river which showed signs of great floods and had many groves of willows. The entire vicinity possesses very good soil which can be irrigated for crops for a long distance. Here the name Río de los Temblores was bestowed, because on the afternoon of July 28 some earthquake shocks were felt, which threw into consternation even the natives, who were living in a populous village on the bank of the river.

Fourth: Leaving the plain and the seacoast to enter the mountains, we found, when we had gone two leagues from the river, some pools or springs in which there was water sufficient for the people but none for the animals. This was in a narrow canyon at a place which was named Los Ojitos.

Fifth: Crossing the level country in a northerly direction and gradually approaching the mountains, we encountered some quite rugged hills which had to be ascended. The descent from them is into a beautiful valley where there is water running in deep ditches and standing also in swampy pools. This valley must be over three leagues in width and much more in length. It is called the Valle de San Miguel.

Sixth: At a distance of two leagues to the northeast, after traveling with much difficulty through fields of dry grass and brushwood, a swampy stream is reached which emerges from a clear open spot still within the same valley in front of a gap which opens toward the west. Some soldiers who had gone out to hunt antelopes, which abound there, said that they had seen a large river which rises close to the gap at the foot of a hill about half a league distant from our camp. Passing westward then, in order to emerge from the valley by way of an opening between low hills, a wide canyon is entered after a journey of two more leagues. The canyon is well wooded with poplars and alders, among which a beautiful river flowing toward the northwest skirts the point of a steep hill and continues thence in a southerly direction. Toward the north-northeast there is seen another water-course or river-bed, which we found to be dry; it was connected with the canyon which we had just discovered, and bore plentiful evidence of heavy floods in the rainy season. It was named the Río de la Porciúncula.

Seventh: Crossing the river and pursuing a west-southwesterly direction, one arrives, after traversing three leagues of high level land, at a watering-place which was named the Ojo de Agua de los Alisos. It was a large spring situated in a ravine, in which were growing *aliso*—poplar—trees of great thickness of trunk; the entire ground was covered with pasture and shrubbery, and there was some water-cress. All the land along this march appeared admirable for the production of fruits and grains of all kinds.

Eighth: At two leagues' distance from here by a good road through well-grassed fields which skirt the range, is another watering-place in a hollow surrounded by low hills near the sea coast. It was named the Ojo de Agua del Berrendo from the circumstance that one of these animals [antelopes] had here been caught alive; a soldier of our troop had on the preceding day broken its leg by a musket-shot.

Ninth: From this place a northwesterly route was chosen, toward the point where there appears to be an opening in the range; this is entered through a canyon between sheer hillsides which, finally becoming more accessible, make it possible to take the slope and ascend to the summit. From this, a spacious pleasant valley is discovered; descending into it, one encounters a very large pool, capable of providing water in abundance. Near it there is a populous Indian village, the inhabitants of which, even to the children, are remarkably affable and peaceable. This valley must be about three leagues wide, its length extending to more than eight; it is entirely surrounded by a chain of mountains; to it the name Valle de Santa Catalina was given.

Tenth: Passing through this valley, which was named also the Valle de Los Encinos, one goes a matter of the three leagues of its width in order to reach the foot of its range. Here there was water in abundance for the people, but very little for the animals.

Eleventh: Four leagues after entering the mountains, passing in part through a narrow canyon and in part along very high barren hills, the ascent of which is very difficult for beasts of burden, a small valley is reached; it extends into a pleasant, sightly field, on the level expanse of which are seen many poplars and oaks of great size. There is a copious supply of water in a stream of moderate width running amid numerous willows and poplars. This place was called the Ranchería del Corral.

Twelfth: If it is desired to continue from here toward the north or northwest which are the directions which govern the journey to Monterey, it would be necessary to attempt the ascent of an immense cordillera of very high mountains which present themselves to the sight. But, by diverging for three leagues through a

canyon, which runs for that distance to the west-southwest, one comes to a halt on the bank of a stream which, although it has a moderate flow during the night and early morning, soon dries up from the heat of the sun—a peculiarity observed in some other streams from this point on. The soil of this long canyon or river-bed is all spongy and slippery, and the animals sink in it or slip at every step. It was called the Cañada de Santa Clara.

There were seven Indian villages met with between San Francisco Solano and this place. They were all on the line of march near our camping places, and were quite populous; some of them were so much so, that, had the Indians borne arms they would have given us great anxiety, for at one place over 200 of them came out at a time, in a tumultuous fashion to greet us; everywhere they paid us honors, and made gifts which helped greatly to reduce the cost of maintenance for the men, [and permitted] part of the supply of foodstuffs which we had to be reserved for other contingencies.

It is to be noted that, because terrifying earthquakes, which frequently recurred, had been experienced throughout a great part of this stretch of the journey, it was suspected that there might be some volcanoes in the mountains of the vicinage. Truly the indications did not belie this suspicion, for, at the foot of the range which runs toward the west, on the road lying between the Río de la Porciúncula and the Ojo del Agua de los Alisos, the scouts found pools of bitumen bubbling [out of the ground].

Between San Francisco Solano and the Río de Santa Clara is the new mission of San Gabriel, established in that valley which was mentioned in number five under the name of San Miguel. Describing the stopping-places according to the narrative of the diary, the mission is six leagues from the Río de los Temblores, and two and one-half from the one named Río de la Porciúncula. It is situated on a hill, down the slopes of which flow numerous streams of water, in which the Río de San Miguel has its origin. There are at this place many willows, poplars, blackberry and grape vines, and roses of Castile. The mission was founded September 8, 1771; the Indians of the nearby village, showing themselves to be very discontented [thereat] from the first, formed a confederacy with their neighbors for the purpose of besieging the camp. This they did a few days later but our men, placed in a state of defence, succeeded in killing the leader or chief who commanded the Indians, whereupon the engagement was ended without further activity, the victory remaining with our men, and the Indians taking to flight having learned a good lesson; they did not suffer themselves to be seen for a long time. Subsequently they have been much more amenable, and many had been baptized by November of '73 although no marriages had taken place.

The church and the dwelling, and the offices, which are within the stockade, are, like those in San Diego, of simple construction and not at all commodious, for nothing better is even to be thought of. The garrison is composed of seven cuirassiers and a corporal. There is a muleteer for carrying necessary things to the mission. At a short distance is the village in which the unconverted natives and the new Christians live; the latter attend regularly at mass and the recital of the doctrine, and some of the former come that the missionary fathers may catechise them. Close to the same stockade there have been constructed a few small houses for the five families of reduced Indians which the reverend father president brought from [Lower] California for the purpose of employing them in tilling the ground and sowing wheat. There is a quantity of that grain here sufficient not alone for the relief of the mission, but as well for supplying the new converts; for having as they do, good fields and abundance of running water, they can sow all that they like and indeed, wheat, corn, and beans

have given very satisfactory results in the tests which have been made. It is very essential that those fields should respond productively to cultivation, for the natives of the district do not enjoy an abundance of wild seeds of pleasant taste, nor can they derive benefit from fishing, since they are distant from the sea about six or eight leagues by the shortest route, which is toward San Pedro Bay, where the packet *San Carlos* anchored in '69 with men and provisions, which will always be easy to transport [from San Pedro Bay to the mission] on mule-back, by reason of the levelness and unbroken character of the intervening territory.

One league to the westward from the mission there are great forests of oak, from which a supply of acorns is obtained. A great many Indians live there, hidden in their villages, which are found also on the seashore and on the plain throughout the eight leagues mentioned. The Río de la Porciúncula, distant more than two long leagues, contains water sufficient to use for irrigation, as does also another copious stream which is farther on, some three leagues to the west. Nor are there lacking in the vicinity of the forest to which reference has been made, small streams from which water can be taken for the cultivation of the adjacent fields, so that the entire locality is most alluring, and offers facilities for the settlement of a few families of Spaniards. These might, without prejudice to the mission, have an assignment of fertile fields, with places adapted for all kinds of cattle. They would live in comfort, and with them we might begin to have hopes of a very important settlement.

As this mission is more than 40 leagues from San Diego, and the Indians of the numerous villages in the intervening territory are habitually restless, and commit hostile acts (as experience has shown) when parties pass near them without an escort large enough to be formidable to these savages, it would be very desirable to establish a few more missions with their corresponding presidios in the interval of this stage of the journey, after prudent efforts at examination and exploration of the numerous valleys which are met with in order to find out how and where it would be desirable to place the camps, and what expectation [there would be] of reducing the natives and populating the country. The fact is, that there has in this part been left a considerable tract of country in which no steps have been taken for the yearned-for reduction of the many indigenes, or for the safety of travelers who may be going into the interior without men and arms sufficient for their defense. As a consequence, it is absolutely necessary to traverse this stretch (whenever need arises for making the overland journey) in formation and with the organization of an expedition, as upon the first occasion. It is indeed believable that the deference and gentleness of the Indians toward our men might have been due rather to well grounded fear than to their affability and benevolence—characteristics in truth too rare and appreciable to be attributed, without less equivocal proof, to savages so untaught and uncivilized in all else which concerns their intercourse and customs.

This Part Describes Natural and Political Matters

The natives throughout the tract described are, generally speaking, rather dark, dirty, of bad figure, short of stature, and slovenly, like the preceding ones, except those who live near the Río de los Temblores, on its banks and the adjacent beaches; these Indians are fair, have light hair, and are good looking.

As to the government of the villages, they resemble each other in that they are all subject to a despotic chief, who is the highest arbiter of peace and war; to him every one contributes a part of what seeds and eatables he possesses. This captain is not only privileged to have two wives (the other Indians having only one), but he may put them away at his own caprice, and take from the same village any other two

he may desire, provided they are maidens. As to dress, those few who use clothes wear them as do those who live between here and San Diego; nearly all the men and women wear the hair cut. They are idolators, and have a custom of burying their dead just where they die; if death occurs in their village, they move to another locality.

The men employ themselves in making nets of various patterns, large enough for carrying their food in the fields; they also use them to bind about the body. They make bows and arrows innumerable, and a kind of warclub of tough wood in the shape of a well-balanced cutlass, which they use in war and in hunting conies, hares, deer, coyotes, and antelope, throwing them so far and with such certain aim, that they rarely fail to break the bones of such of these animals as come within range. The women know how to weave baskets of varying capacity, in which to collect their seeds, pine-nuts, madroña-berries, acorns, etc.

Cactus fruit of superior flavor, wild grapes, and bramble-berries abound in the country. In the Cañada de Santa Clara there are many willows, from the fruit of which in season, the Indians know how to make a certain wine which has no unpleasant flavor. The mountaineers know how to make also a kind of sweet paste, and sugar, which is not unworthy of the name among those people. These products are taken from certain vegetables, which in themselves do not look very promising. They utilize the *tule*, (cat-tail reed) making *atole*—gruel— from the seeds, and bread from the roots, as will be described in another place.

Beside deer, antelope (which is a kind of mountain goat), coyote, wolf, fox, cony, hare, squirrel, and skunk, there is here another land animal just like a sucking pig, which they call *mantugar*, and the flesh of which they eat, just as they do that of the other animals mentioned. There are also reptiles and poisonous animals, vipers, tarantulas, salamanders, and crabs. The entire country is overrun with fleas, but the chinchbug and the louse are unknown. Under the topic of birds and fish, nothing said with reference to the territory previously described fails of application here, there being even some additional species. These Indians are, however, better equipped for fishing; they have their rafts of reeds on which to go out to sea, and by means of these the Indians of the plain of San Gabriel communicate with the islanders of San Clemente and Santa Barbara.

Article III

From the Canada de Santa Clara to the Rancheria de los Pedernales

This stage, according to the distance traveled, was estimated at thirty-seven leagues, as is shown by the diary of the land expedition, adding the distances from one stopping-place to another between the points above mentioned. But it is to be noted that on the backward journey made by the party on its return to San Diego, it is shown that the distance traveled from Los Pedernales to the Cañada de Santa Clara was little more than twenty-five leagues, for at that time a more direct road, leading in the proper direction, was chosen, for by that time [the explorers] had a tolerably accurate idea of the country, and did not advance so tentatively as on the first trip, when a prudent distrust, and a fear of meeting some insuperable obstacle caused by the sea or by the asperity of the country, obliged our men to digress purposely so as to avoid the danger of greater delay in the marches. This observation is made for the purpose of satisfying anyone who may notice that the second expedition, which left San Diego on April 17 of the following year, could arrive at Monterey in the exact space of thirty-six days, whereas the first expedition (which either by an error or a mistake in the printing, is said in one of the printed volumes to have set out

from San Diego on June 14, when July, of 1769, should have been named) consumed entire months in arriving at the same latitude.

The camping places of this stage were reached and named in the following order: First: By way of the Cañada de Santa Clara itself, which runs toward the west-southwest, after going three leagues, one encounters a stream of running water which descends from the range through a narrow canyon, emptying into the valley which here has greater width. Near this place there is a populous village of Indians who live practically without shelter, under the open sky, within the limits of a thicket. The Indians seen exceeded two hundred in number.

Second: Three leagues farther down-stream over broken ground traversed by ravines which drained the mountain slopes in the rainy season, was found a village which did not appear so populous as the preceding one, though the natives were less good-natured and solicitous in making us their customary gifts.

Third: Still two leagues farther down-stream, one discovers a spacious plain which stretches southward and westward to the sea; it is well grassed, and has some groves of trees. The stream here rather deserves the name of river, on account of the volume it acquires from numerous streams which empty into it on each side. Here a very small village was seen; its peculiarity was that the inhabitants dwell in huts covered with grass, spherical in construction like a half-orange, at the apex of which an air-hole was left for the escape of smoke and the entrance of light. These three places in which the camp was pitched were not distinguished by any names at all.

Fourth: Turning westward, one reaches the sea after going two leagues, soon coming upon an established village, the most populous and best arranged of any so far seen. It is situated on a point or tongue of land, right on the beach. There must have been about thirty houses; they were capacious, and well built in the same spherical figure already described. The inhabitants, counting those alone who came to do us honor and make us presents, could not have numbered less than four hundred. These natives are well built and of good disposition, very agile and alert, and ingenious to a degree. They well display their ability in the construction of their canoes, which are made of good pine boards, well joined and calked, and of quite graceful lines. But I will refer entirely, on this subject, to the description given on folios thirty-three and following of the printed *Diario Histórico*, which treats of the inhabitants of the islands and the coast of the Canal de Santa Bárbara, that I may not uselessly repeat what has already been stated in other documents. I will reserve [the privilege] of adding in the proper place my private notes, acquired during a long period of time through my personal observation. This large village was called the Pueblo de la Asumpta; its observed latitude is 34° 13′.

Fifth: Passing along the beach for two leagues, we camped near a temporary town of Indian fishermen, and this was the name given to that place [Ranchería Volante] that we might not lose the custom of giving names agreeing with the circumstances to all the places in our discovery.

Sixth: On account of the extraordinary entertainment with which an Indian favored us [at a place] two leagues farther along the seashore where there is a populous town on a point of land right on the beach—this Indian was a muscular man of good figure, and a great dancer, who had seen us in Asumpta two days before—on this account we named the town of which our friend was a resident, the Pueblo del Baylarín. It appears even more populous than the other, and its houses are of the same construction.

Seventh: A short stretch of beach follows, after which some high hills along the coast are passed in order to come to a stream of excellent water which flows from a canyon in the mountains having many willows. Another native town was here in

sight; in it thirty-two houses were counted, and it was named the Pueblo de la Carpintería. This entire locality seems very suitable for a mission, as well on account of the numberless natives who dwell on this beach within a distance of six leagues, as for the fact that it has excellent fields and abundant water for use in cultivation. The gentleness and good disposition of the Indians give good reason for entertaining a moral certainty of their reduction, provided they be preached the word of God.

Eighth: At three leagues' distance, another village is reached; it is doubtless the most populous of them all to this point, for it contains more than six hundred souls. It is situated near a lake of fresh water, from which the inhabitants obtain their supply. They came with their women and children to visit us, bringing us a quantity of fish *tlatemado*, as they say (that is, roasted), as well as fresh fish and other articles of food as gifts. The place was called the Pueblo de la Laguna.

Ninth: At a distance of three leagues from it, following the march, are found the towns which we called the Pueblos de la Isla. It is thus that, going over level ground between the mountains and some hills which extend seaward, one comes in sight of a long bare point of land, on the eastern side of which a great estuary penetrates inland by two separate arms, which are probably about half a league distant from each other. This estuary runs close to the north side of a small hill which rises on a point of land and has the appearance of an island. On this hill, the verdure and forest growth of which makes a pleasing and harmonious picture, there is a populous Indian village, in which someone claims to have counted one hundred houses. The estuary spreads continually over the level ground eastward, forming various swamps and ponds of considerable extent, on the banks of which are discerned other towns of larger population. The liberality and festivity with which those poor people received us cannot be adequately described. Our arrival was for them a motive of public rejoicing in which there was no stint of music and dancing, which were not badly performed after their fashion.

Tenth: The coast, which runs continuously west-northwest from the Pueblo de la Asumpta to the Pueblo de las Islas, now extends almost directly westward. Pursuing this direction for two leagues over high hills within sight of the ocean, then crossing a somewhat dense oak forest, one comes to a canyon where there is a good watering-place; on the slopes near the beach is a village so populous that it may well contain over one thousand inhabitants. They are no less agreeable and disposed to gift-making than those of the preceding [Pueblo] de las Islas. We gave to this place the name San Luis Obispo de Toloso.

Eleventh: By utilizing the time of low tide, one traverses a short remaining interval of beach, later to ascend some high hills broken by ravines and gullies, until arriving at a town of about eighty houses, which shelter perhaps eight hundred persons. The settlement is scattered along both sides of a canyon containing running water. This place was named San Guido; it is distant three leagues from San Luis Obispo.

Twelfth: At an equal distance, by a road equally rough and difficult, there is discovered another town of nearly fifty fires; it stands likewise on the bank of a canyon which admits an influent estuary. These natives lack firewood, and to provide themselves with water they are obliged to go up the canyon to obtain it from a tributary stream, before the current becomes commingled with the saline water of the estuary. From this place, which we named San Luis Rey, were discerned the last three islands of the Canal de Santa Bárbara; of these, the most western took the name of San Bernardo, the one lying next toward the east, Santa Cruz, and the

other Santa Bárbara, which is the easternmost and the one which gave its name to that stretch of sea and coasts.

Thirteenth: [After traversing] high ground with a very rough road, at times descending and again ascending rugged mountains and crags, at the end of two leagues one comes to San Zeferino, which was the name we gave to a place containing twenty-four houses; the Indians in them must have numbered almost two hundred, and they were as affable in their intercourse as the previous ones. The entire country is of a rather desolate, sombre aspect; not because there is no forest, but on account of the height and bareness of the hills, among which, however, there begin to be found pastures as one enters them, and others are not far distant from the place. The soil is very mellow, and there is a canyon into which another estuary penetrates, serving as a landing place for these Indians, who live by fishing; they go up-stream to get fresh water under the same precaution and inconvenience as the people of San Luis Rey. The latitude of this place was observed to be 34½°.

Fourteenth: Going a short day's march of about two leagues, now by a more accessible road, though over high hills, a village is passed midway situated by the sea on a spacious beach just in sight of the Punta de la Concepción, which is the end of the oft-mentioned Canal de Santa Bárbara, and is on the same parallel as San Zeferino, 34° 30′ north latitude. Camp was pitched on the east side of a canyon within which there is an Indian town of about twenty-four houses. Here they lack and abound in the same things as do those near by. Our soldiers took a fancy to call the town the Pueblo del Cojo, because the cacique or captain of the place was, indeed, lame.

Fifteenth: From the Punta de la Concepción a northwesterly direction was taken; rounding the coast, at the end of two leagues and a half, another canyon was found, containing a town of twenty fires and two hundred and fifty Indians more or less. Here penetrates still another estuary which prevents the current of the stream from reaching the sea. The natives of the village are exceedingly poor, and so hungry that they can hardly subsist, as they are without canoes, live on rough ground, and have a scarcity of firewood. The village was called the Ranchería de la Espada.

The story of a small incident which occurred at this place should not be omitted, as it records the motive for giving the place its name. A soldier lost his sword, allowing it through carelessness to be abstracted from his belt. But the Indians who noticed this theft, themselves ran after the thief and dispossessed him of the weapon that it might be restored to its owner—an act very worthy of remark occurring, as it did, among a lot of barbarians, for they are barbarians after a fashion, compared to those of our own race, owing to the roughness and wildness of the land they inhabit.

Sixteenth: Finally, after going two leagues over high ground of pleasing aspect, a spring of good water is found by the shore and near it a poor village of only ten houses with probably sixty inhabitants. We camped at a place near which a point or tongue of land projects into the sea. There we collected a great number of flints suitable for firearms, so the place was named Los Pedernales. Its latitude was observed to be 34° 33′.

From the mission of San Gabriel, which was spoken of in the preceding article—to here, there is no other. I have thought best to interrupt the course of our first land expedition, limiting the third stretch of it to this point (although it includes no chapter on missions) and go on to treat of the habits and customs of these people, that your Excellency's attention may be relieved from the fatigue of reading about marches daily pursued northward, and also for my own convenience, I having per-

ceived that my notes on natural and political history should be distributed in the order and after the fashion in which I have them arranged in the original.

Natural and Political History

In the preceding account of the habits and customs of the natives, and of the products of those countries, I have already included all that pertains to [the territory] from San Diego, not only as far as the Cañada de Santa Clara as was proposed in Article II with reference to day's marches,—but as far as the place called La Carpintería, which is included in this third stage. It only remains to recount here then, those observations which concern the interval between La Carpinteria and the Punta de los Pedernales. They are as follows:

The Indians of all these villages are of good disposition and average figure; they are inclined to work, and much more to self-interest. They show with great covetousness a certain inclination to traffic and barter, and it may be said in a way that they are the Chinese of California. In matters concerning their possessions, they will not yield or concede the smallest point. They receive the Spaniards well, and make them welcome; but they are very warlike among themselves, living at almost incessant war, village against village.

In each of these villages (which are very populous here, each one containing on an estimate about six hundred men capable of bearing arms) there is a captain, as has been said of the previous territory. This chief has hardly any other function than that of the military command; they always choose the most conspicuous and intrepid one in the village. The position is for life, and [the incumbent enjoys] an absolute, total independence in the government.

The men go clothed with a large cloak made of skins of cony, hare, fox, or sea-otter; the garment reaches to the waist, the captain only being allowed to wear it reaching to the ankle, without other mark of distinction. The women wear skirts, made and fitted uncouthly of antelope hide, either colored or white, which do not extend below the knees. Most of them are decorated with various trinkets chosen from the smaller sea-shells and stones of various colors. They wear the hair tightly bound and gathered at the back, forming a short heavy queue, with a very handsome adornment of shells; they also wear collars and bracelets of snail-shells and little sea-shells. The few men who desire to cut their beards, accomplish it not without great pain, by using a pair of shells of the clam, or large oyster,which, being fastened together on one side by nature, can be given a kind of opening and shutting motion on the other. With these they extract the hairs one at a time by the root, as though pulling with nippers. Those who like to wear the hair short, do so by burning it close to their pates—an uncomfortable and fatiguing operation, but necessary on account of their lack of any iron instrument.

They are idolators like the rest. Their idols are placed near the village, with some here and there about the fields, to protect, they say, the seeds and crops. These idols are nothing but sticks, or stone figurines painted with colors and surmounted with plumage. Their ordinary height is three hands, and they place them in the cleanest, most highly embellished place they can find, whither they go frequently to worship them and offer their food, and whatever they have.

Although in this district the captains commonly enjoy the privilege of taking two or three wives, and putting them away at will, the ordinary men have only one, and may abandon her only in case of adultery. The Indians of either sex who wish to marry a second time, may do so only with another widow or widower—a custom which seems not at all irrational if we consider what result such a practice should have n favor of the population.

I have substantial evidence that those Indian men who both here and farther inland, are observed in the dress, clothing, and character of women—there being two or three such in each village—pass as Sodomites by profession (it being confirmed that all these Indians are much addicted to this abominable vice) and permit the heathen to practice the execrable, unnatural abuse of their bodies. They are called *joyas*, and are held in great esteem. Let this mention suffice for a matter which could not be omitted—on account of the bearing it may have on the discussion of the reduction of these natives—with a promise to revert in another place to an excess so criminal that it seems even forbidden to speak its name. Let us go on then, to describe the ceremony of their funerals and burials.

When any Indian dies, they carry the body to the adoratory, or place near the village dedicated to their idols. There they celebrate the mortuary ceremony, and watch all the following night, some of them gathered about a huge fire until day-break; then come all the rest (men and women) and four of them begin the ceremony in this wise: One Indian, smoking tobacco in a large stone pipe, goes first; he is followed by the other three, all passing thrice around the body; but each time he passes the head, his companions lift the skins with which it is covered, that the priest may blow upon it three mouthfuls of smoke. On arriving at the feet, they all four together stop to sing, I know not what manner of laudation. Then come the near and remote relatives of the deceased, each one giving to the chief celebrant a string of beads, something over a span in length. Then immediately there is raised a sorrowful outcry and lamentation from all the mourners. When this sort of solemn response is ended, the four ministers take up the body, and all the Indians follow them, singing, to the cemetery which they have prepared for the purpose, where it is given sepulture; with the body are buried some little things made by the deceased himself; some other objects are deposited round about the spot where the body rests, and over it, thrust into the earth, is raised a spear or very long rod, painted in various colors. At the foot of this rod are left a few relics, which naturally represent the ability and kind of occupation which the man had while he was living. If the deceased is a woman, they leave strung on the rod some of the boxes and baskets which she was accustomed to weave.

The occupations and ordinary pursuits of these people are limited; some of them follow fishing, others engage in their small carpentry jobs; some make strings of beads, others grind red, white, and blue paint-clays, and a certain kind of plumbiferous stones, which serve for the men to paint themselves with when they are celebrating and dancing or when they go to war, and which are used by the women for their usual adornment. They make various shaped plates from the roots of the oak and the alder trees, and also mortars, crocks and plates of black stone, all of which they cut out with flint, certainly with great skill and dexterity. They make an infinite number of arrows. The women go about their seed-sowing, bringing the wood for the use of the house, the water and other provisions. They skilfully weave trays, baskets, and pitchers for various purposes; these are well made with thread of grass roots of various colors.

There is abundance of all seeds needed for their use, and many acorns. There are birds and land animals of the same species as above mentioned, besides many additional ones. The fishing is so good, and so great is the variety of fish, known in other seas, that this industry alone would suffice to provide sustenance to all the settlers which this vast stretch of country could receive. In the mountains there are seen many pines like those of Spain, *mollares*, and oaks and live-oaks upon the slopes and in certain spots on level ground. On the rivers and streams there are many white

and black poplars, willows, alders, elms, small poplars, some laurels, and canes. The soil is very good; it is black, well-grassed, and mellow; and the fields are thickly dotted with shrubs. Almost every half league one encounters a stream more or less sizeable which flows to the sea, besides headwaters and springs of excellent water, so that there are many places having all the advantages necessary for establishing missions; such are: First, San Luis Obispo, one league inside the canyon of the stream; second, the Ranchería de la Isla; third, the village of La Carpintería, also within another canyon into which another stream empties.

Finally, that nothing may be omitted in the narrative, I will tell [the customs] which these Indians observe in their dances. The women go to them well painted, and dressed as has been described, carrying in both hands bundles of feathers of various colors. The men go entirely naked, but very much painted. Only two pairs from each sex are chosen to perform the dance, and two musicians, who play their flutes. Nearly all the others who are present, increase the noise with their rattles made of cane dried and split, at the same time singing, very displeasingly for us, who are not accustomed to distressing the ear with this kind of composition.

Article IV

From Los Pedernales to the Foot of the Sierra de Santa Lucia

This stage of the journey was estimated at thirty-three leagues. The places occurred and had names bestowed upon them in the following order and manner: First: As one sets out from Los Pedernales toward the north-northwest across high land overlooking the sea and partly covered with sand-dunes, there is, at a distance of two leagues, a canyon with abundant pasture, though with but little water, which is collected in a pool. The canyon was named the Cañada Seca. The coast before one comes to the sand-dunes is broken, being cut into numerous rocky points which extend into the sea.

Second: One league from this place is the Río de San Verardo. Its mouth is entirely closed by a sand-bank which it was possible to cross dry-shod, its waters being dammed as it were, and without current. But this is clearly understood by going to observe further up, where it is seen that the waters unite with the sea, reappearing after filtering through near the sand-bank. This river flows through a beautiful valley containing many willows, and the fields are capable of producing all kinds of grain. Very large bears were seen here, and there is a populous village.

[Third]: Two leagues to the north, over ground that is level but very much overgrown with wild rosemary and trees of delicate perfume, [after] crossing a canyon that had abundant pasture, then ascending its northern slope, we discovered an Indian village on a moderate-sized lake, surrounded by low hills. These people were very poor and without the shelter of houses, so that we doubted with some reason if this place was their permanent abode. They made festival for us with dancing, if with nothing else; as this was the place where the women were seen dancing, it was for that reason named the Ranchería del Bayle de las Indias.

Fourth: We took the road inland from this point, bearing northward to avoid the sand-dunes and numerous bad stretches, but we could not entirely escape a chain of these [dunes] which, extending from the interior of the country, were encountered midway of the day's march; the trouble of overcoming this difficulty, however, did not last long. Going afterward along high hills, and canyons containing very good land and better pasture, we pitched camp in a very spacious valley in which there is a lake of fresh water which may be some two thousand yards long and perhaps more than half as wide. We did not deliberate long over naming this valley the Valle de la

Laguna Larga; three leagues from the previous camping place, there were seen in the valley two villages, the one very small and insignificant, the other containing a few more small houses made after their fashion.

Fifth: Crossing the valley, which was two leagues wide in the north-northwesterly direction which we were pursuing, we then traversed another league over high tablelands, until another large pond was found. It was almost circular in form, in a canyon which some sand-dunes obstructed, stopping the water from direct outlet to the sea; the canyon extends from east to west, and is covered with reeds and rushes in swampy puddly ground. The pond was called the Laguna Redonda.

Sixth: The range which we were keeping in sight (it is the one which we have continuously kept on our right hand since leaving San Diego) alternately recedes from and approaches the sea, and our passage along the beach was here cut off by it absolutely. So, to avoid the marshes of the plains and the estuaries that reach to the foot of the range, we chose a westerly route over some sand-dunes at the narrowest place, which must be a matter of half a league wide; then, descending to the beach and traversing it for something like a league toward the north-northwest, we again headed inland (turning east), crossing sand-dunes until we reached firmer ground by means of a tongue of land between two bodies of water. Later, resuming a northerly route, we entered the range through a pass or canyon wooded with live-oaks, alders, and other trees, pitching camp beside a stream covered with cresses. This day's march was four leagues long, and in the whole of it we came upon only one small village of very poor, ill-conditioned Indians. Those of the [village] just by our camping-place came during the day to show us the customary courtesies, bringing seeds and a few fish. The cacique or commander of the village had a huge tumor (which they are accustomed here to call *buche*) that hung from his neck, and it instantly occurred to the soldiers to name the place the Ranchería del Buchón.

Seventh: Following the canyon of the preceding camping-place—it turns northwestward here—and then after a short distance making our way over hills and high peaks not far from the sea, the road being rough and difficult, with frequent declivities and slopes, yet pleasant and wooded with white oaks and live-oaks, one encounters at a distance of two leagues (in which not a village is seen) a very narrow canyon encircled by very high hills; the canyon contains running water, and there is no lack of pasture for thirty or forty animals.

Eighth: Continuing from here for three leagues of rough road over high, serrate hills, one finds on descending, another extensive canyon containing many pools of fresh water. As the animals cannot approach these pools close enough to drink on account of their miry margins, it is necessary to go on another league in quest of the watering-place. It is a stream of very good water, and is of adequate volume. In this canyon were seen whole troops of bears; they have the ground all plowed up from digging in it to find their sustenance in the roots which the land produces. They are ferocious brutes, hard to hunt; they attack the hunter with incredible quickness and courage, [so that] he can only escape on a swift horse. They do not give up unless they are shot either in the head or in the heart. The canyon was named the Cañada del Oso.

Ninth: The march was continued through the same canyon, which leads continuously westward, for two leagues; we passed over a hill within sight of the sea near a good stream, not, however, without having overcome the difficulty occasioned by some deep ravines and other bad stretches. The field about the camping-place was pleasant and fertile; it had abundant pasture, and was not at all scantily forested. Not far away was seen a small village of Indians who lived without house or hearth.

Bet that which was most worthy of notice was an estuary of immense size, which unters the valley from the south; at first sight it appears to be a large port. Its mouth, opening to the southwest, is covered with reefs, and a short distance northward from it is seen a huge rock shaped like a round head, which at high tide becomes an island, separated from the coast. From this rock the coast extends toward the west-northwest as far as a great point which is discerned at some distance, and which, with another which is left behind, forms a large bay, with shelter from the south, south-west, and west [winds], and may perhaps have sufficient depth [for vessels].

Tenth: After proceeding for three leagues along the beach, where at every step was encountered running water drained from the range, which here recedes somewhat from the sea—one reaches another moderately wide canyon; into it penetrates an estuary which receives a stream. This place was given simply the name of El Estero, as no other name to be given it was suggested. Its latitude by observation is 35° 27′.

Eleventh: Taking the branch of the canyon that runs to the north-northwest and following it for three leagues, since it turns northward at that point, one comes to a better view of the pine-clad range; here occurs a very deep canyon densely wooded with willows, poplars, and other trees; in it ran an ample stream which some claimed was the Río Carmelo. Because of the fact that some sixty hill Indians came down at our arrival to present their compliments, bringing us a bear cub which they had captured in the camp, from this incident occasion was taken to name this rivulet the Cañada del Osito.

Twelfth: Descending thence to the coast and following the beach, which here bore to the northwest, at a distance of a good league of easy road and frequent watering-places, one comes to a cliff at the edge of the sea, in the northwestern part of a valley through which this stream of very good water empties. There was all the pasture and wood wanted, and the place was named El Cantil; the latitude here observed was 35° 35′.

Thirteenth: Without leaving the coast, going over high hills and rolling land broken by ravines and streams, opening the way and clearing ground every moment, one then passes before a point of land terminating in the sea, and, leaving it to the left, strikes into a gorge here presented in the range, continuing the march northwestward, across various canyons and streams. These two leagues passed, one comes to a deep water-course where sufficient water was found in a pool. The place was called Arroyada Honda.

Fourteenth: Going part of the way through this canyon and part along the top of cliffs within view of the sea for another two leagues, one arrives at the foot of a range that is very high, but seems as though it might permit of passage by way of the opening which is seen to the east. This is the range known by the name of Santa Lucía, of which mention is made by the old pilots who first navigated these seas. Those of Sebastián Vizcaíno's expeditions especially speak of it, enlarging with good reason upon its asperity and brokenness. But, interrupting here the [narrative of] the days' marches, it is now time to speak of the missions.

State of the New Missions

The mission of San Luis Obispo de Toloso is the only one established in the third and fourth stages of the journey. It was founded September 1, 1772, and is situated on a hill three leagues distant from the beach and the bay called [La Ensenada] del Buchón. It has near it many fields excellent for cultivation, and abundant water for everything. At the foot of the hill runs a ditch from which water is taken for the fields, which have now been tested, and proven to yield prolifically of whatever is sown. I was there about the first of November in '73, to interview the Rever-

end Father-President Francisco Palóu, who was coming from [Lower] California. There was then a field of two *almudes* [sowing] from which the corn, heavily eared, was just ready to be harvested. They were plowing and preparing the soil for sowing eight *fanegas* of wheat to be irrigated. Certainly, with the measures which the Reverend Father-President has taken to settle there half of the families of married and single Indians whom he brought with him from the peninsula, everything may turn out well. And as he has done the same thing at the mission of San Gabriel, which is no less well supplied with land, water, and pasture, as has been said, it is to be expected that these two missions alone may soon succor and provide for the rest, that of San Gabriel for those below, and that of San Luis Obispo for those in the upper part, rendering unnecessary the exportation of grains from the port of San Blas.

Not only is there the water-supply spoken of, running at the foot of the hill, which will supply this mission and furnish irrigation for its crops, but there is still another ample stream at a short distance and in its vicinity are good localities possessing fertile soil. In addition, abundant water is found in every direction, and pasture for the cattle, so that no matter how large the mission grows to be and however great the number of Indians reduced, the land promises sustenance, without prejudice either to the mission or the Indians, and for many settlers as well, who may desire to establish themselves here—an efficacious means for the advancement of the spiritual conquest and for the secure conservation of that which has been conquered temporally. The Father-President assured me that some settlers from [Lower] California and some cuirassiers had offered voluntarily to bring their wives and families to this country, and that they had gone to Loreto to make the proposal to their governor, Don Felipe Barry. To him this zealous minister of God and good vassal of the King had written with reference to the enterprise, informing him how desirable and advantageous this emigration would be for the service of both Majesties. It is certain that if this [colonization] should some day happen, the Indians would soon cease to consider (as they now do) that we are exiles from our own lands who have come here in quest of their women; for they would then see coming here to settle men who had their own wives, instead of noting as at present, that we have come neither to oppose them in arms or to settle the country, since only men have come. They would then cease to feel the disquietude and misgiving in which they have lived from the first as a result of apprehension or whim.

Nearly all the natives of this middle district possessing, as they do, abundance of seeds to store and use, and those along the beach having all the fish they want, to such a degree that this nation may be considered the richest among them all, it may with reason be feared that collecting and reducing the Indians to mission life will be difficult; there remains only the hope of interesting and attracting them by gifts of clothing—which they lack without confusion or shame, but chiefly by the suavity and kindliness which through love of God and desire for the welfare of these poor souls is edifyingly manifested by the reverend father missionaries.

As a result, a few adults are submitting; for their instruction continuous effort is made, and they are being catechised that they may prepare to receive holy baptism. This benefit only twelve boys and girls have availed themselves of at this mission in more than a year, and no adults whatever during that time.

The church, the dwelling of the father missionaries, and the offices, are all within the stockade, and all made in the ordinary manner described in preceding chapters. Of the same construction is the barrack of the guard, a body which is here composed of eight cuirassiers with a corporal and a servant. In the neighborhood of this

mission there is no well established village, but the parents of the new Christians have settled close to the stockade, and in the same place small houses were being built for receiving the Indians who, with their families, were expected from [Lower] California.

Going at leisure to reconnoitre the bay called del Buchón, distant about three leagues, I found that it affords excellent shelter for ships, except upon the south, and that perhaps anchor might be dropped there, or the vessel might at least be moored, in order to leave supplies at the mission and take on water, for there is a good estuary, and at a short distance fresh water is found, and an abundance of firewood.

I might introduce here other notes which I had the honor to include in my previously mentioned letter to your Excellency, concerning the natural geography and the actual population of this part which I have examined—I might almost say, measured by hand-breadths. But as these notes agree in substance with whose recorded in the chapter from the diary of the land journey, which are placed in their [proper] order at the beginning of this [present] section four, as in the preceding ones, I will only make additions by speaking in very general, though in very positive terms: First, that as far as concerns water supply, fishing, fertility of soil, population, and abundance of everything necessary, all this region—together with a long stretch of the coast—greatly exceeds the favorable idea we formed of it when we were merely passing through it. Second: that the towns or villages called *de la Isla*, and those of the channel of Santa Barbara and its entire coast are worthy of particular consideration, with reference to providing them with ministers of the Holy Gospel, especially the [village] named La Asumpta. There are, in this stretch and that one just preceding it, very suitable locations for this important establishment of missions, it being understood that they be founded with a presidio and guard of fifty or sixty soldiers; for the natives are so numerous, that in the five channel towns only, which lie almost side by side, and are ready to unite for the sake of any common interest, it may be estimated that there are as many as six thousand Indians. They are the most dexterous and capable people seen in the entire northern section, and are too daring to permit of confidence in them because of their apparent affability and real lack of offensive and defensive arms. In a word, they are savages, and therefore capable of attempting any kind of hostility whenever they see fit. In view of this fact, and of lack of a sufficient number of soldiers, the mission of San Buenaventura has not been established, as your predecessor the Marquis of Croix had resolved it should, at the town of La Asumpta, which is some twenty-six leagues distant from the mission of San Gabriel. Between the two points are numerous villages, for the conquest of which was also ordered the foundation of another mission with the name of Santa Clara. The most suitable location for this latter appeared to me to be near the beginning of the valley of the same name, where ample streams of good water flow, and where there are grassy fields of pleasing aspect. Thence to the mission of San Gabriel it would be only fourteen leagues, and twelve to the place selected for the mission of San Buenaventura. It would be wise, however, to reconnoiter and examine the valley of the Santa Clara again, as since the year '69 when the land expedition went [through it], it has not been seen, the fact being that on the return journey another route was chosen which was more direct and had a better arrangement of days' marches.

Third, and lastly: That, in order to travel and transport goods from San Diego to Monterey, it is necessary to pass twenty or more towns, either directly through them, along their borders, or, at least within sight at about a gunshot's distance, [and] there are numerous cliffs, bluffs, and difficult passages, where the natives

might to advantage dispute the way and even prevent travelers from passing; instances of this are not lacking. For instance, in the year '72, they threw stones and darts at me, when I was going down to San Diego, at a place which we named El Rincón; the Indians took advantage of an opportunity to surprise me and my escort when we were occupied in effecting a difficult passage, or rather a steep descent which unavoidably presents itself midway of one of their streets. We found ourselves in such straits that it was necessary, assuming the defensive, to punish the boldness of the insolent fellows, killing one or more of them, but losing none of our men. Since then they have shown some cautiousness, but whenever they see a small number of travelers not well armed, and defenseless, the Indians do not hesitate to throw themselves upon them and try their fortune. It is plainly to be seen that there is or can be no means of forefending these injuries than the presidio and mission [to be established] in the suitable places of which I have just informed your Excellency.

(To be continued)

BOOK REVIEWS

Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century. Studies in Spanish Colonial History and Administration. By Herbert Eugene Bolton, Ph.D., Professor of American History in the University of California. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1915. Pp. vii + 501.

The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies. By Herbert E. Bolton. Reprint from the *American Historical Review*, Vol. xxiii, No. 1, pp. 41–61.

The territory comprised within the boundaries of the Lone Star State came into prominence, and engaged the attention of Spain and France, at a very early period in our North American history. The four survivors of the ill-fated Navaez expedition, which towards the end of 1528 perished on the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico, passed several years groping their way through the numerous Indian tribes of Texas. When in 1536 they at last reached civilization at Culiacán, Sinaloa, they had a story to relate which inspired various military and missionary movements for the occupation of the country in question. From that date on the Spanish government claimed Texas by right of discovery. Nevertheless it failed to develop the resources of the territory, or to take steps for the conversion of the savages to Christianity.

Spanish missionaries would, indeed, offer to cross the Rio Grande in order to acquaint the roving natives with the Gospel of Christ, but nothing came of the ardent appeal, because they were not permitted to give vent to their zeal in that direction without military guards. Soldiers would cause expense to the royal treasury which must not be burdened save for purposes that produced adequate returns. In the eyes of the Spanish government missions "served as means of defense to the king's dominions," as Prof. Bolton writes in his admirable essay, *The Mission as a Frontier Institution*. Hence, primarily, according to royal intent, the missions were pioneering agencies of the State. It was not a noble situation that confronted the Spanish missionary.

He could not present himself to the savages as the messenger of Christ only, the acceptance of whose teachings alone would secure salvation, but he must, at the same time, unlike the Apostles of old, unlike a St. Patrick, a St. Augustine, a St. Boniface, etc., preach submission to a particular foreign sovereign. It was humiliating; but only under such condition would the Spanish government lend its protection or even allow a missionary to proceed without military aid. Even then the missionary would have to await the good pleasure of the government, and remain indifferent to the clamors of the Indian for baptism, and the good will of the government in Mexico would not be manifested until some foreign invasion threatened to deprive the Crown of Spain of the territory it claimed. Then the royal purse-strings would be loosened, and the necessary funds granted for missions.

Such a rude awakening the viceroy experienced when he learned that early in 1685, the Sieur de la Salle had erected a fort at Matagorda Bay in the name of the King of France. Alarmed at this French presumption, Viceroy de Galve, in 1689, sent an expedition into Texas with orders to drive out the intruders, and to establish missions for the conversion of the natives under the protection of a military fort. The Franciscans Fr. Damian Mazanet, Fr. Miguel Fontcubierta, and Fr. Francisco Casañas were selected to accompany the soldiers. When the Spaniards arrived at the site of the French settlement, they found that the fort had been destroyed and the colonists massacred by savages. Two unburied bodies were given Christian burial, then the expedition proceeded to eastern Texas to establish missions.

The exact location of La Salle's Fort St. Louis has long been disputed, but, says Dr. Bolton in the *Austin American* of July 19, 1914, "this question is debatable no longer; for it is settled once for all by newly discovered records which are corroborated by archeological and topographical investigation . . . It is exactly where Cárdenas's map shows La Salle's settlement on the west bank of the Garcitas River, about 5 miles above its mouth, and on the highest point of the cliff-like bank of that stream." Dr. Bolton identified the site on July 4, 1914. In the preface of the larger book under review he says: "I count as my cardinal joy the identification of the location of La Salle's fort, on the Garcitas River, near the shores of Lavaca Bay."

After founding Mission San Francisco in the extreme northeast corner of the present Houston County on June 1, 1690, and a Mission in honor of the holy Name of Mary directly across the Neches River east of Mission San Francisco, in southwestern Cherokee County, some time in October, the Fathers endeavored to win the savages, but the evil conduct of the soldiers, who had been recruited from the scum of society in Mexico, rendered all their efforts useless. "Scarcely a day passed without some one fighting, or some officer stabbing a soldier, so that the servant brother was generally kept busy attending the wounded," writes Fr. Mazanet. Worse than that, the guards would enter the homes of the Indians to gratify their lusts. Reporting the situation in person, Fr. Casañas declared to the viceroy that the Spanish officials had yet to learn that the missionaries, however patient and self-sacrificing they might be, could accomplish little for Christianity and civilization among the savages unless the guards themselves set an example in civilization and the practice of Christian virtues.

This may be said to be a sample of the complaints of the missionaries throughout the Texan missionary period. Fr. Mazanet a little later reported that the misdeeds of the soldiers had enraged the Indians, and that medicine men were adding to the difficulties by blaming the missionaries for diseases and deaths among the savages. As six of the fifteen guards had deserted, he asked for a sufficient number of reliable men. Instead of heeding the urgent appeal, the Government in August, 1693, directed the missionaries to retire to Mexico. Nor could the Franciscans prevail upon the viceroy to let them return until twenty-three years later, and then it was an alarm of French encroachments that brought about the reëstablishment of the missions, and the founding of new ones, as *frontier posts against the enemy.*

In his splendid essay, *The Mission as a Frontier Institution*, Professor Bolton throws such strong and clear light on this feature of the Indian missionary establishments under Spanish rule that we urgently advise the student, who desires to comprehend mission history, first to study Bolton's little work, and then to read his *Texas in the Eighteenth Century* for information regarding the activity of the Franciscans in Texas, or *The Mis-*

sions and Missionaries of California on their labors in the Golden State.

"From the standpoint of the Church," says Prof. Bolton, "and as viewed by the missionaries themselves, their principal work was to spread the Faith, first, last, and always. To doubt this is to confess complete and disqualifying ignorance of the great mass of existing missionary correspondence, printed and unprinted, so fraught with unmistakable proofs of religious zeal and devotion of the vast majority of the missionaries." (*Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, pp. 46-47.)

Be it known that the man who makes this emphatic statement is not a Catholic. His boyhood passed within the shadows of a Methodist meetinghouse of Wisconsin. He must have heard many of the usual strange stories about the Catholic Church and her ministers; but having chosen the field of history for his life's work, an innate love for truth urged him to investigate every statement, until he found it to correspond with the facts as noted in original documents. Nor is he a mere armchair historian, but he would visit the scenes of past events in order to discover corroboration for what the documents revealed. "My quest has been as romantic as the search for the Golden Fleece," he writes. "I have burrowed in the dust of the archives of Church and State in Mexico City, in a dozen state capitals, in Nachitoches, Louisiana, and in numerous places in Texas. The distance travelled in my pursuit of documents would carry me around the globe. I have lived with the *padres* in ruinous old monasteries in out of the way villages in the mountains of Mexico . . . My researches have taken me not only into foreign archives in quest of records, but also over hundreds of miles of old trails in Texas, Louisiana, and other parts of the Southwest, in search of topographical and archeological data, for light on the historical tale. I have ridden by team long distances over the Old San Antonio Road, where no railroads run, and on horseback in mud fetlock deep, over the historic trail from Nachitoches, the old French outpost of Louisiana, to Adaes (Robeline), the Spanish outposts of Texas. To examine the ruins and map out the sites of the forgotten missions near Rockdale, I have several times driven and tramped back and forth, up and down the valley of the San Gabriel." (Preface to *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*.)

Nevertheless, all these sincere efforts to secure accurate data would not be sufficient guarantee that the professor's presentation of the facts is trustworthy, were it not for his apparent determination to abide by the rule laid down by Cicero, and which Pope Leo XIII prescribed for all Catholic historians, "not to dare state what is false, and then not to dare suppress what is true." Would that all writers of history stood by that rule.

For a second time the Franciscans, as already indicated, returned to eastern Texas. This time twelve Fathers composed the band of intrepid missionaries, among whom was Fr. Antonio Margíl, declared Venerable by Pope Gregory XVI in 1836, which means that he had practised the theological and cardinal virtues in an heroic degree. They reëstablished Mission San Francisco, not on the same place, as Prof. Bolton shows, but "near the Neches Mounds, on the land of the Morrill Orchard Company, just east of and across the river from Neches, Houston County." The other two missions and the garrison for their protection were planted as follows: "The presidio or fort was erected at the spring just west of Douglas, and Mission Purisima Concepción arose on the Angelina River just west thereof. Mission San José de los Nazones was placed near the border of Rush and Nacogdoches counties." These three establishments were in charge of the Franciscans from the missionary College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro. The Franciscans of the College of Our Lady of Guadalupe, Zacatecas, under Fr. Margil, founded their three missions as follows: "Mission Guadalupe in the center of modern Nacogdoches; Mission Nuestra Señora de los Dolores at the present City of San Augustine, San Augustine County; and Mission San Miguel right at the modern village of Robeline, Louisiana, and a short distance to the northeast was the presidio" for the protection of this group of missions.

Meanwhile, in 1718, Fr. Antonio Olivares, by permission of Viceroy de Valero, transferred his Xarame Indian mission from the southern banks of the Rio Grande to the headwaters of the Rio de San Antonio, where he established the mission of the same name, later on famous as the "Álamo," at what is now the City of San Antonio.

In 1720, Viceroy Valero equipped an expedition for the expul-

sion of the French invaders and the return of the Fathers to their missions. This expedition reached San Antonio on April 4, 1721. After a needed rest, the soldiers and colonists, joined by the Franciscans, arrived at the first mission in July. The Fathers took possession, and then in their turn all other missions were reöccupied. While the three establishments of the Zacatecan Fathers in the extreme east continued, the three in charge of the Querétaro Fathers, chiefly because the guards were withdrawn as not necessary in the opinion of the Government, were permitted to be transplanted to the Rio San Antonio. The change was effected by 1731, in which year the missions of San José, San Juan Capistrano, and San Francisco de Espada were founded in the vicinity of San Antonio.

This takes us directly to the beginning of the period discussed in Prof. Bolton's *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century.*

At the very outset Professor Bolton disclaims wanting to present a history. "It is, rather, a collection of special studies, closely related in time and subject-matter, and designed to throw light upon a neglected period in the history of one of the most important of Spain's northern provinces . . . The special studies here presented are based almost exclusively upon manuscript sources, chiefly in the archives of Mexico, Spain, and Texas, and for the most part hitherto unknown and unused" (Preface v–vi). The numerous and luminous footnotes, such as the historical student delights to encounter in a work of this kind, sustain the professor's claim.

One observes, too, that the author heartily sympathizes with his subject, which of necessity deals chiefly with the missions and missionaries, for Texas history in the eighteenth century without the missions would be a blank. His very studies of authorities at first hand, his determination not to permit any early sectarian training or previous adverse impressions to warp his judgment, and his innate sense of what is fair, have led him to express his sympathy in no uncertain terms. Others, indeed, have written about Texas and its history, but inasmuch as they lacked the qualities essential for an accurate presentation of the historical facts, their writings have not satisfied the lovers of truth and justice.

With these *Studies* Prof. Bolton appears to have inaugurated a new departure from the methods observed in State Universities concerning Catholic activities. Professors of History would seem to have made it a law to themselves not to say anything favorable about Catholic work anywhere, if they could find nothing unfavorable, or to hem in what is good with "buts," "howevers," "neverthelesses," etc., until the good impression made by the recital of the mere facts is effectually smothered. Professor Bolton takes the opposite course. He disdains to be a partisan. As a true historian he is a judge, and a judge must sift the evidence, clarify it, not smother it, nor twist it out of semblance to the truth. Hence, as in the case of the missionaries, for instance, he abstracts from any view or notion he may have about the Catholic Church, and simply judges the work of the friars according to their own convictions, motives, and aims. Inasmuch as he knows these from personal observation, from original documents, and from consequent results, he does not see why the Catholic missionary should not receive the credit due. Therefore he manfully and honestly expresses judgment in keeping with the evidence. These principles he has likewise impressed upon his pupils, first at the University of Texas, then at the University of Stanford, California, and he continues to inculcate the same fair historical rules at the University of California, with the result that his students have in turn gained for themselves honorable positions as professors of history at various State institutions, where they are proud to conduct their department in the equitable spirit of their revered master. In this way the author of *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century* has, perhaps, unconsciously, founded a new school of history, which we should call the "Bolton School of Historical Research," for it is based on original research, which yields knowledge that is quite different from the information easy-going literary hacks in professors' chairs repeat from printed works of little historical value.

Nor does Professor Bolton stand alone in taking a fair and sympathetic view of Catholic missionary activities and their results. In the case of New Mexico, visited by Franciscans much earlier than Texas, others before him, non-Catholics too,

investigated, above and below ground, and with the same results for themselves, that is to say, previous unfavorable impressions about Catholic religious were changed to a feeling of admiration. The most conspicuous men of this band of scientific men, who actually revolutionized the accounts current about the early days in the far West, and paved the way for a real scientific treatment of its history, are Adolf F. Bandelier, Frank H. Cushing, Parker Winship, F. W. Hodge, Charles F. Lummis, and even the radical atheist Dr. Elliott Coues. All their writings exhibit unmistakable friendliness, the effect of personal examination performed with the determination to be fair. Bandelier went further. He employed the same system to secure the facts and the truth in another line with the result that he yielded to the evidences and became a Catholic, for which action none of his companions in the historical and ethnographical field respected him one whit less.

Dealing chiefly with Indian missionary establishments, Prof. Bolton's book contains much that will interest the student of ethnology. The names of the tribes and their habitat is carefully described. "All were objects of solicitude to the missionaries," (p. 4) whose purpose was to Christianize and civilize them. They could not be induced to adopt either Christianity or civilization unless those willing were segregated from their wild tribesmen, and put under the humane rule of the missionaries. This suggested the mission and the mission system. They had then to be taught industry and civic life. What that meant is only intimated, but may be inferred from the letter of a Franciscan Superior, which is quoted: "At present," writes the Father, "as is notorious, they are incapable of governing themselves. It is necessary that the missionary religious take them out to the work of planting, and that he go about with them in planting and in harvesting, and that he take care that they guard the stock, that he count them, that he go with them to work on the buildings, and in fine, in all temporal occupations; for experience shows that if the missionary does not go about in this work and leaves it in their care, everything is lost and they go at once to the forest. Every day it is necessary to give rations to each Indian, for if the food is left to their disposition in two days it is exhausted." (Page 12.)

"The conversions," Fr. Santa Ana writes in 1740, "are not difficult, but they are vexatious; for it is necessary to deal with them like a mother instructing a child. Until after five, or six, or seven years they are unable to enter into a perfect understanding, and thus it is rare that one does not flee to the forests twice or three times, and so far that they sometimes go inland as many as a hundred leagues, but we have the patience to seek them, and as soon as they see the Father they come like lambs." (Page 17.)

Professor Bolton points out another serious obstacle to effective work. "By the Laws of the Indies," he says "the missionaries were enjoined to instruct the Indians in their native languages; but in the first place, the native languages usually lacked terms in which properly to convey the meaning of the Christian doctrine. In the second place, on some frontiers there were so many dialects that it was impossible for the friars to learn them. This was eminently true in the region between the Rio Grande and San Antonio, where there were more than twenty dialects or languages regularly spoken. Hence instruction was given in Spanish, reliance being placed when necessary upon native interpreters. In 1760 Father Bartolomé García published a *Manual* for religious instruction in the Coahuiltecan language which served for about twenty tribes represented at the missions on the San Antonio and the lower Rio Grande. The form outlined for the confessional in this book reflects the horrible moral conditions with which the missionaries had to contend in their work of civilization." (Page 11.)

It is this habit of explaining what might be misconstrued that materially enhances the value of Professor Bolton's work. He does not essay to defend the friars, but simply adds the explanatory circumstances, which is all that the friars would want. It is the right way to present what has occurred in the past. It is true history. Of course, in this way he misses a glorious opportunity of "roasting the priests" and "making Rome howl," as was the custom with anti-Catholic professors and bogus historians up to about twenty or thirty years ago. However, the author of those "Studies" is not out for cheap notoriety; besides he has won for himself the distinction of being a fair, painstaking, accurate teacher in the Department of History.

With that enviable reputation he desires to go down to posterity. Hence his careful research which results in products the students may confidently study and consult.

"At Mission San Antonio alone," the author continues, "no fewer than forty different bands or tribes were represented by the baptisms between 1731 and 1745. . . . The original tribes at Mission Concepción were three—the Pajalat, Siquipil, and Tilpacopal—but by 1745 members of at least fifteen others had been attracted thither" (p. 16). "Quarrels between the missionaries and the secular authorities were almost constant, in Texas as elsewhere," the professor writes. "It is difficult to determine whether the seat of the trouble was the imperfect definition and distribution of authority provided by the administrative system, or pride, 'headiness,' and insubordination in the Spanish character. Whatever the cause, wrangling was a chronic and disastrous malady in all the frontier Spanish provinces" (p. 13).

It will help the student to a decision if he bear in mind that the very aims and character of the quarrelling parties rendered disputes unavoidable. The missionaries, vowed to a life of poverty and chastity, entered the field intent on nothing but the temporal and spiritual welfare of the Indians. By royal decrees they were also constituted the guardians and protectors of the Indians and their rights. On the other hand, the military guards were generally composed of convicts and jailbirds, and officered by men who sought only their personal gain. Both, officers and guards, wanted to exploit the Indians for their own selfish ends. Under such circumstances it is a wonder that the friars made any converts at all. It would take us far beyond the space allotted to ventilate even briefly this phase of missionary afflictions. We shall, therefore, hasten to one of the best features of Dr. Bolton's work. The professor has taken great pains to locate the various missions and presidios. Of some the very memory had been lost. After personally visiting the scenes of friar activities, documents in hand, he has succeeded in identifying every one of them, and thus earned the lasting gratitude of the State and of the Franciscans as well. Besides the six missions in eastern Texas and the five in the vicinity of San Antonio, a third group was established on the lower Guadalupe and San Antonio rivers in what is now Victoria and Goliad counties. These were the missions of *Espiritu*

Santo, Nuestra Señora del Rosário, and *Nuetra Señora del Refugio*. About midway between San Antonio and the abandoned establishments of the Neches and Angelina rivers, on San Xavier River (now San Gabriel), in Milam County, about ten miles northwest from Rockdale, were the missions of *Nuestra Señora de los Dolores* (or San Francisco Xavier), *Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria*, and *San Lorenzo*. Among the fierce Apaches of western Texas arose Mission *Santa Cruz* on the San Sabá River, about four miles below Menardville, Menard County. Here Fathers Alonso Giraldo de Terreros and José Santiesteban were massacred by the savages in 1759. On the eastern branch of the Upper Nueces River, near the southern border of Edwards County, four or five leagues apart, in 1762, were founded the second missions of the same names—*San Lorenzo* and *Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria*. These with *Santa Cruz* formed the San Sabá Missions. Finally, we have Mission *Nuestra Señora de la Luz*, near the presidio of San Agustin, which lay a "short distance east of the left bank of the Trinity River, some two leagues from the head of the bay, or near the north line of present Chambers County." (Pages 346–347.) Hence between the years 1690 and 1790 twenty-one missions were founded for the savages of Texas. This was the same number reported for California, but only those in the vicinity of San Antonio ever reached the importance of the smaller missions in the Golden States.

A number of topographical maps greatly aid the student to comprehend the situation around the various missions and presidios. "Too high praise," to use the words of Prof. W. E. Dunn of Austin University, "cannot be given to the general map of Texas, which furnishes the most elaborate and authoritative map of colonial Texas in existence, one which could only be prepared by a profound specialist in the field." It points out exactly the route taken by various expeditions, marks out the habitat of the different Indian tribes, and locates accurately the missions, giving the dates of founding as well.

If we may express a wish it is that Dr. Bolton supply us with a complete history of Texas, beginning with the period not treated, 1689 to 1730, incorporate the new material since discovered in the archives of Spain, and bring the work down to the independence of the territory of Texas. Save for the learned

articles that appeared in the *Texas Historical Quarterly* and its successor, the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, most of the work printed in English on the missions is of little historical value. We hope the professor may consider the proposition and earn the lasting gratitude of posterity.

ZEPHYRIN ENGELHARDT.

American Presidents—Their Individualities and Their Contributions to American Progress. By Thomas Francis Moran, Ph.D. New York: T. Y. Crowell Company. Pp. 148.

The divisions of this little volume, Washington to Jackson, Jackson to Lincoln, and Lincoln to Wilson, give to the reader a hint of the author's principles. In the first section we find the statesmen Presidents, those chief executives whose public services singled them out for the suffrages of their fellow-citizens. In this group we have gradations in efficiency from Washington, the greatest, to Monroe, the least, though measured by the standard of the later times a not inconsiderable official. From Jackson, chosen for considerations other than a knowledge of national or of international affairs, there is an evident deterioration. Lincoln the first of the third division, and, perhaps, the greatest among them, was nominated because of his conservative opinions on the subject of slavery, while his successors, three of them not intended for the first office, appear to have been chosen in part for their availability and talents.

In his sketch of John Adams the author mentions "the X. Y. Z. Affair" as the "principal event" of the second President's administration. It was, indeed, the principal diplomatic event, but in its momentous importance the passage of the Alien and Sedition Laws far transcended the mission of Marshall, Gerry, and Pinckney. This legislation suggests the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, the Hartford Convention, Nullification, and Secession. In a word, it locates the landmarks of much of the history of our Republic between 1798 and 1860.

In his account of the next two terms Dr. Moran states that Jefferson and Hamilton represented "opposite poles of political thought, always opposing and never pulling in the same direction." This is almost the literal truth, but there was a memorable

dinner, and thereafter, for the moment, they worked together for the assumption by the Federal Government of the Revolutionary debts of the States. Jefferson, it is true, subsequently regretted his share in that transaction.

The author gives the usual estimate of Madison, and it is, perhaps, ungracious to mar the outline of his perfect picture. But in reflecting on the Father of the Constitution one who has read widely in American history might call up the spectre of the Pinckney draft, a document too long, we are informed, to have been included in the Journal of the Constitutional Convention, the suspicious circumstances attending Madison's nomination in 1812 or that statesman's unwarranted attack on the character of a certain New England contemporary. But when due allowance has been made for these evidences of human fallibility, Madison's achievements were sufficient for fame.

In paying a deserved tribute to the Adams family, Professor Moran concludes with this comment, "and the greatest of this family was John Quincy Adams." If one is thinking of only the Adamses in public life, there are few who will question this judgment. It is generally conceded that he surpassed his father, John Adams, as well as his son, Charles Francis Adams. But there was another Adams, a grandson, not actively engaged in the hurly-burly of politics, yet an interested spectator of the happenings in that arena. Nothing, in our opinion, in the writings of Samuel Adams, a cousin of the second President, in the writings of John Adams or in the Memoirs of John Quincy Adams approaches in excellence the autobiographical work entitled *The Education of Henry Adams*. If this may be regarded as a *tour de force*, there is also *Mont-Saint Michel and Chartres*, a work of interest to multitudes besides architects. We say nothing of the eight splendid volumes in which Henry Adams writes the history of the United States from 1801 to 1817. Many of his contemporaries have shown a practical appreciation of that great work by silently adopting its conclusions.

How Henry Adams contrived to escape the keen eyes of men who possessed the power of appointment to high office is neither easy to understand nor creditable to the intelligence and patriotism of a rather long line of Presidents. Nor is it to be explained by the well known antagonism between the Adams family and

State Street. Whatever the explanation, Henry Adams, one of the ablest Americans of the past fifty years, succeeded almost completely in effacing himself from the political landscape.

The reviewer has carefully examined Dr. Moran's book and is glad to testify to the justness of its conclusions, to its value as a summary of the two major themes which the author has undertaken to treat, and to its exceedingly attractive form. Professor Moran writes interestingly, and the entertainment of the reader is a perfectly legitimate, though not the chief object of an author. So easy is it to ascertain his meaning that without effort one finds one's self at the end of his volume, regretting that he did not prepare a narrative somewhat more ample. Like other books by Professor Moran this is marked by evidences of excellent scholarship.

Life and Letters of Thomas Hodgkin, By Louise Creighton. London, New York, Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras: Longmans Green & Co., 1917. Pp. 445. Price, $4.50 net.

This work is not, as is sufficiently indicated by its title, a commentary on the writings of Thomas Hodgkin, but a biographical sketch confirmed by countless excerpts from his tireless epistolary correspondence. Voluminous and vast, the Miltonic phrase, is perhaps the only description in our language which adequately suggests the extent of his compositions. But the reviewer disclaims any thought of hinting at a connection between the pious historian and the porteress of the inferno. We have never read the whole of *Italy and Her Invaders*, the masterpiece of Hodgkin, and the work that engaged so many of the best years of his busy life. But its merits one is willing to accept on the concurrent testimony of eminent historians and the public approval of universities undoubtedly great. Of Hodgkin's writings the reviewer has hitherto fully read only the first volume of a *Political History of England* published by Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Company. In its pages he discovered nothing whatever that was new. In fact, that performance is an excellent illustration of mediocrity in historical writing. This impression was all but effaced when Mrs. Creighton's volume came up for examination. It is to be regretted that she did not cast her

narrative in another form and impose upon her subject a measure of silence. She permits him to speak too much. There is, however, an evident advantage in her plan, for from the multitude of his dreary letters the reader is able to collect the principles of the historian.

The narrative and the testimony shows that Hodgkin was an affectionate son, a devoted husband (to successive wives), and a fond father. In short, in his case the domestic virtues were ideal. He was a loyal subject of his sovereign, an enlightened employer, a helpful friend, and a public-spirited leader in the communities in which he lived. He had been systematically educated, had been a diligent, if not a brilliant student, and during the course of a long life was noted for his extraordinary industry. Though he was a banker of ability, he was never so much attached to the profits of business as to devote to it his entire energy. The muse of history, he was persuaded, had sent him a message to deliver to men. Therefore, when not engrossed by problems of private finance, he was forever talking and writing. Judged by his attributes and his appearances, Hodgkin was a typical English gentleman, and a versatile one. Nevertheless, this urbane writer had limitations not less obvious than his merits. Doubtless the intolerance of his age, which excluded members of the Society of Friends from both Oxford and Cambridge, was a disadvantage which somewhat disabled him through all his days and it may serve to explain his own rooted prejudices.

As a youth Hodgkin, who chanced to be in Dublin with his father, had witnessed a contested election for the representation for Trinity College. The hustings, located in that celebrated seminary of learning, "reeked with Orangeism." The fitness of candidates for the imperial legislature was judged by the vehemence with which they could proclaim their hatred of the Pope and the suffrages of the learned were solicited on the ground of superior powers of vituperation, each candidate professing to be the Lord's own trumpet. The tides of angry declamation failed to attract Hodgkin to Irish politics. Vulgarity indeed appeared never to have successfully appealed to his dignity. Not that he was shocked by the character of the invectives directed at the

Pope, but it was an unpardonable offence against taste. Of the Popes he had himself often exclaimed, "Oh, the Vicars of Christ, how the earth groans and has groaned under them."

The issue between the North and the South, Hodgkin saw clearly. He did not desire England to be dragged into the great American conflict on the side of pro-slavery interests. On that question his Quaker principles led him to take the right-hand road. He was also able to anticipate the judgment of the English people in the midst of the Russo-Turkish war. He feared that England might once more espouse the cause of the Turk. But at that time even diplomats were aware that in 1854 they had backed the wrong horse. Great Britain had recovered from her infatuation for the subjects of the Sultan. But justice to the negro and to the dwellers in the Balkans was one thing, while justice to the Irish was quite another matter. "His indignation over Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule," says the author, "was deep and lasting." Over that question he broke with several of his Liberal friends, and he labored to the limit of his powers to avert the calamity of a self-governed Ireland.

What particularly disturbed the repose of Dr. Hodgkin was the proximity of anything Catholic. Mrs. Creighton informs us that toward the ecclesiastical history of the period covered by his great work his attitude was "cold and almost contemptuous." In this attitude he had the example of a distinguished predecessor in another field of history. Hume's history of England, as we remember it from a distant reading, fails to note the influence of Christianity upon the development of the British Isles. Whether that force operated for good or for ill it was the duty of the chronicler to advert to the fact. Hodgkin regarded Naples as more than a half-way house toward an Oriental city. Traveling in Italy, he acknowledges, always made him a "bitter Protestant." The stimuli of that country's ancient memorials and modern art were really not needed, for this bitterness was subjective. Hodgkin actually preferred paganism to Catholicism. Unfortunately in that opinion he was not alone. One of his letters, a dull composition for a student who had read *Marmion*, describes a visit to Lindisfarne. That historic spot, according to the excerpt, suggested no allusion except to the fate of Pharaoh's army whose horses and chariots, the poet tells us, were sunk in

the waves. Holy Isle and Whitby recalled to his mind nothing save the Biblical allusion to an experience which he thought similar to his own. There was really nothing in his cavalcade or his caravan to call up a vision of Memphian chivalry. At Albi a view of St. Cecelia's Cathedral led him to remark that it seemed incongruous "that that slight musical little saint" should have had such an edifice dedicated to her honor. Veneration for the Blessed Virgin, who is sometimes said to have been a slight little lady, has led many a town of southern Europe to build edifices not less stately. Hodgkin regarded *Janus* as "an astonishing book certainly to have been written by any Roman Catholic." He hesitated about the epithet *vicarious* because it was not Biblical but scholastic. He appears to have drawn everything from the Bible except its charity, its poetry, and its sublimity. At Nazareth he would not go to the Church of the Annunciation, for he was "quite tired of these so-called holy places, so monotonous in their tawdry decorations and so redolent of the ecclesiastical humbug of many generations." If Dante could have partaken of certain waters in Wales, he "might have written a really fine poem." One is scarcely expected to maintain that he did write a splendid poem. The Oxford Movement, the historian asserts, was *the greatest spiritual misfortune of our country.* In the enjoyment of such feelings Hodgkin passed happy days.

After a careful survey of this level stretch of desolation one turns with pleasure to peruse once more the letters of Cowper, also an Englishman and a Protestant. One who has been introduced to DeQuincy, or Newman, or Burke, or Ruskin, or even Macaulay will not find it easy to admit Hodgkin to the circle of his select friends. If, at the outset, the author had resolved to reveal to the readers of *Italy and Her Invaders* the personality of the historian, that purpose has been admirably accomplished. Our criticism is not of her art, but of her choice of a theme.

A History of Europe. By A. J. Grant. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1917. Pp. iii+751. Price, $2.75.

To write the history of Europe as an organic unit, and not as a group of separate states, requires a fine sense of perspective, proportion and continuity, and a constant subordination of interrelated parts to the whole. The present work weaves together

the political and social elements in European civilization, omits the intellectual factors, and fails completely to grasp the central and formative function of Christianity. The implications of the name Christendom are not even suggested. Perhaps this were too definite a philosophy of history and no writer may be denied his viewpoint.

As a narrative of consecutive events the book is successful. It is well planned and well divided. And while the bibliographies seldom contain works which would give all sides of open questions, and though some of the estimates of persons and events, notably in connection with religious history, are curiously inaccurate, the work is free from conscious prejudice.

The Development of Japan. By Kenneth Scott Latourette, Professor of History in Denison University. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918. Pp. xi+287.

This volume is published under the auspices of the Japan Society. The manuscript was read and suggestions as to its content and form were made by Professor K. Asakawa, of Yale University, by Professor Treat of Leland Stanford, and by others. The Japan Society fathers the book, but it was prepared without the knowledge of the Society, and until completed it did not come under the eyes of the Society's officers. No changes were made by the Society before its publication. These facts should be kept in mind by the reader who may feel some hesitation in approaching a volume which has a definite pro-Nippon tendency. It may not be unfair to propose Dr. Latourette's thesis in the following paragraph from his chapter on the *Development of Japan:* "This nearness to Asia means, too, that the Japanese are vitally interested in continental affairs. Here is their natural field for commercial and territorial expansion. Here is the natural outlet for their surplus population. They must see to it that no strong foreign power dominates the points where Japan most nearly touches Asia. Hence they fought both Russia and China, for Korea and later annexed it. Hence they demanded that China alienate to no European power the coast of Fuhkien province opposite Formosa. They must also insist that their voice be heard in settling the affairs of their unwieldy neighbor, China, and that her door

be kept open to their commerce: they have attempted during the War of Nations so to establish themselves in the great Asiatic republic that they cannot be easily dislodged when the struggle is over. Their policy on the continent has not without some appropriateness been styled their 'Monroe Doctrine.' It has been inspired largely by the same fear of foreign aggression that gave rise to our insistence on Latin-American independence. We feared lest Europe, by encroaching on the newly won freedom of our sister republics of the south, would threaten our own existence. Japan is apprehensive of a monopoly by Occidental nations of the vast resources of China and Korea that would stifle her legitimate commercial expansion. In the hearts of some of her leaders there has been a passion for expansion, but before we cast a stone we need to remember that it is not yet a hundred years since we talked glibly of our 'manifest destiny' and seized vast regions from a defenseless neighbor."

We are to see, therefore, a dominant factor in the geographical situation of this great Eastern power. Great, Japan has actually become in the short space of a century. "Of all the unexpected and startling developments of this remarkable century through which we have just passed, none has been more notable than the transformation of Japan. A hundred years ago she was an obscure Asiatic Kingdom, by her own volition tightly closed from the world." In this almost unparalleled metamorphosis, no country has played a larger share than the United States. The coming of Perry divides the civilization of old Japan from that of the modern Japanese world; but, though the change has an abruptness which is singular in history, the Japan of today is the child of the Japan of 1850. To know modern Japan one must first be acquainted with the period which precedes that historic date. To make Japan known to the American world, to that world in which "during the past few years, there has been a growing mutual suspicion," is the author's aim. He has succeeded where many before his time have failed.

This volume is divided into twelve chapters which describe in a brilliant and solid fashion the legendary history of our great neighbor of the Pacific, the rise and fall of the Shogunate, the civilization of the land before Perry spoke his Open Sesame at its gates, the internal transformations of the latter half of the nine-

teenth century, and the international relations which have preoccupied the minds of Japanese statesmen since 1850. The volume is well-balanced, and, despite its tendency—to use a much abused word—can be trusted to give a fair setting to the historic rôle Japan seems bound to have in the world after the present war is over.

One would naturally look for a rather detailed account of the rise and fall of Christianity in the mysterious Empire; the author has given a word of praise to the "zealous and heroic Jesuit, Francis Xavier," who brought the Faith to Japan in 1549. The glorious martyrology of the country between 1596 and 1640, when thousands were put to death for the Christian belief is fittingly described; but the reader is left unaware of the presence of Catholicism in the islands from the day they were "hermetically sealed" down to 1844, when Father Forcade entered Japan as a missionary. In 1865, fifteen Christians presented themselves to the Catholic priest at Nagasaki and assured him that there were at least 50,000 Catholics in the islands. The persecutions begun afresh in 1867, after two centuries of silence, and some forty thousand Catholics were exiled. From 1876 to the present time toleration has been the rule. At present a Catholic hierarchy exists with an Archbishop at Tokio, and three Bishops in Nagasaki, Osaka, and Hakodate. Dr. Latourette's bibliography makes no mention of the list of Catholic works on Japan. There is also scant mention of Protestant missions in the Empire, although a list of Protestant missionaries from 1829 down to the present contains the names of such well-known personages as Channing Williams, James Hepburn, and Mr. Thompson. The educational work projected by these pioneer missionaries has had more than a passing effect upon the development of the islands. Apart from these defects, which are not minor ones in a volume which sets out to explain Japan to the American mind, the author has succeeded in explaining the present attitude of Japanese politics better than any writer before his time. "What the Japanese genius is to produce," he says, "and what the nation is to be and do when it completely finishes the process of adjustment, no one can yet accurately predict. Japan will hardly be content to be an imitator and there is much in her past history that leads one to hope for new and valuable contributions to world culture."

Dramatic Moments in American Diplomacy. By Ralph W. Page. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1918. Pp. xi+284.

The book has been written because "public apathy in regard to our foreign policy and cheerful indifference shown by the majority of our people towards the Diplomatic Service has had a baleful influence upon our country." The author's purpose is not to give a chronological summary of the diplomatic achievements of the United States, but rather to present simply and clearly the most striking dramatic episodes in our foreign relations since Franklin's day. His volume, nevertheless, follows the order of time, and treats of the diplomatic history of the United States from the days of France's benevolent neutrality and of Benjamin Franklin, "the incarnation of sanity and clear sense," down to the coup d'état in Panama under Roosevelt. Not all Mr. Page's chapters give an honorable hue to the general coloring of our diplomatic relations with our foreign neighbors. Probably the most unpleasant event in the series described by the author is McKinley's attitude towards the Spanish government over the question of Cuba. Something besides politics started the Spanish war, and that something cannot be charged entirely to McKinley's lack of broad statesmanship.

The author has written to interest and to please his audience and has given his theme as many theatrical turns as possible; but the narrative is purposely "told in the language of the man in the street rather than in the dignified diction of the historian." That Mr. Page has created interest in a little known aspect of American history is certain. The book is well worth reading, and might justly be added to the Reading Books for the school-room.

Syllabus Topics in American History for Seventh and Eighth Grades. By H. E. Reed. Syracuse: Iroquois Publishing Co., 1917. Pp. 64.

This useful publication gives in topical outline the map work required in American history for the seventh and eighth grades of the New York schools. The Regents Examinations are the norm for its divisions. The essential topics are treated, and with the aid of the Syllabus the pupil can easily find his way to reference books and text-books. The careful use of the maps will prove of

great value in "fixing history in the minds of the pupils by making the work graphic. Many parts will thus be fixed which otherwise would soon be forgotten."

A Syllabus of United States History, 1492-1916. By Homer C. Hockett and Arthur W. Schlesinger. Columbus, Ohio, 1911. Pp. 93.

This Syllabus is an evolution from an Outline of Bassett's *Short History of the United States*, which was prepared as an aid in teaching an introductory course in United States History at the Ohio State University. The divisions of the *Syllabus* follow along the conventional lines and the ample list of References and Readings fairly covers the topics assigned for study. The entire list of books cited is not above a hundred, and in our Catholic colleges and academies where a separate course in American History is given, these books could be purchased as a working library for the students. No books dealing with the history of the Church are included, but references to them can be easily supplied by the teacher.

NOTES AND COMMENT

With the Rev. Dr. Souvay, C.M., as Editor-in-chief, and assisted by a noted group of Catholic scholars, among whom are the Rev. Father Holweck, the Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., the Rev. John Rothenstein, and Mr. Edward Brown, the first number of the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review* has appeared and has at the outset given fine promise of success. All students of Middle West history will welcome this magazine. The CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW sees in this new venture fresh strength to the growing influence of Cathlic historical studies in the United States. St. Louis has always been a logical home for such studies. Love for its Catholic past has been always mutual to those within and without the Church; but among all who have striven to make that past a living reality to present-day readers, none deserves a higher encomium than the Editor of *The Fortnightly Review*, Dr. Arthur Preuss. For a quarter century, the history of the Church in and around old St. Louis has had in him a constant and sincere student. A card-index of historical articles from *The Fortnightly Review* contains a surprising number of excellent contributions to the study of the Church history of old Louisiana. It is to be hoped that the Catholics of New Orleans and of San Francisco will be the next to found an historical Review for similar purposes in their sections.

The Student Army Training Corps has taken its place among the unsuccessful experiments of the war. Administered by the Committee on Education and Special Training of the War Department, it had for its primary purpose "to utilize the educative and teaching personnel and the physical equipment of the educational institutions to assist in the training of our new armies." This training was conducted in some 562 colleges and universities; about 141,000 students were enrolled. The Corps was divided into two sections: Section A, or the Collegiate Section, and Section B, or the Vocational Section. The status of the students, when inducted, was that of a private in the United States Army. The project as originally outlined divided the students into age groups: twenty-year-old men, nineteen-year-old men, and eighteen-year-old men. The twenty-year-old men were to leave the S. A. T. C. units at the end of the first three months; the nineteen-year-old men at the end of the second three months; and the eighteen-year-old men at the end of the third three months. Members of the three groups were to be sent, according to their rating in academic and military work, to a Central Officers' Training School, a Non-commissioned Officers' School, a college for more intensive work in a specified line, or to a cantonment for duty with the regular troops. The curriculum consisted mainly of eleven hours a week of military training, and of forty-two hours of academic work. The whole system seemed assured of success from the beginning. For administrative purposes the country was divided into twelve Districts, with a

District Headquarters. At each District Headquarters there was a staff composed of members of the collegiate, medical, military, and business departments.

In the Collegiate Section, the following Catholic Colleges were established as units of the Students Army Training Corps:

Alabama, Spring Hill College, Spring Hill. *Arkansas*, Little Rock College, Little Rock. *California*, University of Santa Clara, Santa Clara; St. Ignatius University, San Francisco; St. Mary's College, Oakland. *District of Columbia*, Georgetown University, Washington; The Catholic University of America, Washington; *Illinois*, Loyola University, Chicago; St. Ignatius College, Chicago; DePaul University, Chicago; St. Viator College, Bourbonnais. *Indiana*, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame. *Iowa*, Des Moines College, Des Moines; Dubuque College, Dubuque. *Kansas*, St. Mary's College, St. Mary's. *Louisiana*, Loyola University, New Orleans; St. Charles College, Grand Coteau. *Maryland*, Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg. *Massachusetts*, Boston College, Boston; Holy Cross College, Worcester; Assumption College, Worcester. *Michigan*, University of Detroit, Detroit; St. Cyrillus and Methodius Seminary, Orchard Lake. *Minnesota*, College of St. Thomas, St. Paul. *Missouri*, St. Louis University, St. Louis. *Montana*, Mt. St. Charles College, Helena. *Nebraska*, Creighton University, Omaha. *New York*, Canisius College, Buffalo; Fordham University, New York City; Manhattan College, New York City; Niagara University, Niagara; St. Bonaventure's College, St. Bonaventure; St. John's College, Brooklyn. *Ohio*, St. Ignatius College, Cleveland; St. Mary's College, Dayton; St. Xavier College, Cincinnati. *Pennsylvania*, St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia; Villanova College, Villanova; Duquesne University, Pittsburgh. *Washington*, Gonzaga University, Spokane. *Wisconsin*, Campion College, Prairie du Chien; Marquette University, Milwaukee. Thus making a total of forty-two Catholic colleges and universities.

No doubt, at the next annual meeting of the Catholic Educational Association, educators from these S. A. T. C. units will give us the benefit of their experiences in making adjustment with military life for the war emergency which has passed.

The Churches of Allentown, the doctoral dissertation of James H. Bossard of the University of Pennsylvania, is mainly a study in statistics of the denominations of that city.

Abbé Félix Klein has contributed to the *Correspondant* of October 10, 1918, an eloquent tribute to Cardinal Gibbons—*Le Cardinal Gibbons, à l'occasion de ses Noces d'Or Episcopales* (pp. 28). Dr. Klein accompanied the Mission sent to America by the French Hierarchy to felicitate the venerable American Cardinal on the occasion of his Golden Jubilee as bishop, October 20, 1918.

J. Richard Beste's account of Father Theobald Mathew in the United States, first printed in *The Wabash, or Adventures of an English Gentleman's Family in the Interior of America* (London, 1855), is reprinted in the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* for July.

A recent ceremony in the venerable Cathedral of Havana recalls to memory two illustrious figures of the Church in Cuba. Some time ago, when the cloistered Dominican nuns of Santa Catalina sold their large convent in the city in order to remove to a new site in the suburbs, the Bishop of Havana, the Right Rev. Pedro Gonzalez de Estrada, decided to inter in the Cathedral the mortal remains of two deceased prelates of Havana who for a long time had reposed, the one in Santa Catalina, and the other in Santa Teresa. Their bodies were brought to the Chapel of Loreta in the Cathedral, where, amid imposing ceremonies and before a great concourse of the clergy and laity, they were finally laid to rest in August last. A masterly discourse in praise of the dead and for the edification of the living was delivered by the distinguished Canon and Professor of the Seminary of Havana, Doctor Andres Lago. Doctor Lago is an alumnus of an American Seminary, and stands high among the Cuban clergy for the masterly manner in which, on every occasion, he defends the rights of the Church and the truths of religion.

The *Staples World* of June 13, in connection with its account of the dedication of the Staples (Minn.) Sacred Heart Church, reviews the history of that congregation from the time of its organization, in 1890, to the present.

Le Canada Francais, the first number of which was published in September, 1918, by Laval University, Quebec, takes the place of two former magazines, now suspended, the *Parler Français* and the *Nouvelle-France*. For sixteen years the *Parler Français* existed as the organ of the *Société du Parler français*, a society which endeavors to keep the French language pure in Canada. The *Nouvelle-France* was mainly an historical magazine, and was directed during the past eighteen years by Canon Lindsay. From 1881 to 1891, Laval University published a magazine with the same title: *Canada Français*, and the professors of today have resurrected the magazine for the purpose of bringing the University nearer to the people.

The January, 1918, issue of the *Michigan History Magazine* contains an article on *Father Marquette at Michilimackinac*, by Hon. Edwin O. Wood, a chapter from Vol. i of the author's *Historic Mackinac*, since published. In the July number of this magazine, Hon. Fred Landon writes of *Father Jones and the Jesuit Archives*, and Rev. William Gagnieur, S.J., contributes a study of *Indian Place Names in the Upper Peninsula and their Interpretations*. John A. Lemmer.

of Notre University, gives an account of *The Missionary Labors in the Northwest of Claude Jean Allouez, S.J.* (1613–1689), in the October, 1918, issue. *The History of St. Mary's Parish, Marshall, Mich.*, by Rev. James Cahalan, appears in the same number.

The *Northwestern Chronicle* (St. Paul, Minn.) in its issue of April 27, 1918, contains a short account of the beginnings of Catholicity in Minneapolis.

The Right Reverend Bishop Garrigan of Sioux City contributes a preface to two excellent papers entitled: *The Church in Sioux City* and *The Church in the Diocese of Sioux City* which were prepared and read at the Quarterly Meetings of the Priests of Sioux City. It was in the hope that these papers might stimulate the pastors of the Diocese to prepare similar papers dealing with the history of their parishes that the two essays mentioned were printed.

Edward S. Delaplaine, in his study of *Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, His Career at the Frederick Bar*, printed in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for June, 1918, says: "Mr. Taney also took a deep interest in his Church. In November, 1803, the Legislature authorized him and six other men to devise a lottery to raise $3,600 with which to complete the Catholic Church in Frederick. The seven men, bonded in the following February, proposed the lottery scheme, delivered the prizes to the 'fortunate adventurers' within six months and applied the proceeds to the completion of the church within a period of two years." . . . "Mr. Taney himself was a man of deep religious devotion. For many years he could be seen every morning during his residence in Frederick at his religious devotions in the little Catholic Chapel, near which his mother was buried. Before taking his departure from Frederick he made arrangements with a friend, William Murdock Beall, a younger man than himself, for his own burial by the side of his mother." Some Taney Letters from the collection in the Maryland Historical Society are published in the same number of this magazine.

Among the Bandelier Manuscripts, now in the possession of Mrs. Fanny Bandelier, the widow of the archeologist and historian, there is an undated letter written to Johann Conrad von Reinach-Hirtzbach, Prince-Bishop of Basle, from one of the Swiss settlers who came to America in 1733, under the leadership of Colonel Purry who founded Purrysbourg, in South Carolina. An English translation of Colonel Purry's *Report*, written about 1726, before he brought his first colonists across the Atlantic, states quite clearly that Purrysbourg was to be a Protestant settlement. This Report was privately printed in 1880, by Charles C. Jones under the title: *Memorial presented to His Grace, my Lord the Duke of Newcastle, Chaplain of His Majesty, King George, etc., and Secretary of State, upon the Present Condition of Carolina and the Means of its Amelioration*

by Jean Pierre Purry, of Neufchatel, Switzerland (Augusta, Ga., 1880). The *Memorial* has been published in Force's *Tracts*, Vol. ii, and it is included in Carroll's *Historical Collections of South Carolina*. It presents a good specimen of the methods used to induce colonists to come to America. Purry visited Carolina to inform himself of the circumstances and situation of the province and then returned to England where he succeeded in obtaining government aid for his project. The English Government agreed to give lands and 400 pounds sterling for every hundred effective men he should transport from Switzerland to Carolina. One hundred and seventy Swiss agreed to follow him. Later two hundred more came over and joined the colony. The Governor, agreeable to instructions, allotted 40,000 acres of land for the use of the settlement on the north bank of the Savannah river, and a town called Purrisburgh, Purrysburg, or Purrysbourg was begun. Hewitt, in his *Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, Vol. ii, p. 26 (London, 1779), tells us that a certain Mr. Bignon, a Swiss minister who was engaged by the colonists, received episcopal ordination from the Bishop of London, before leaving for the new colony. The *United States Gazetteer* for 1795, speaks of Purrysburg, as "a most handsome town of South Carolina . . . it contains forty to fifty dwellings, and an Episcopalian church." The colony did not prosper. "The poverty of Carolina," writes Jones in his *Preface*, "the indifference of the Home Government, the penury of the colonists and the evil effects of the climate conspired to retard the progress of the settlement, and quickly brought about its almost total abandonment. After a comparatively short and precarious existence, Purrisburgh, like new Ebenezer and Abercorn on the Georgia side of the river, became little more than a name, scarcely aught else than a frail monument of hope deferred and disappointment most severe."

The *Memorial* is rather outspoken on the religion of the proposed settlement:

> It happens every day (very much after the fashion of bees when they find themselves overcrowded in their hives), that many young people leave Protestant Switzerland who have, so to speak, no recourse other than to go into service in France, Spain, Italy, Savoy, and other Roman Catholic communities in their neighborhood, where most of them change their religion in order to maintain themselves and ameliorate their condition. Thus we see the poor Calvanists of the Palatinate betaking themselves into Hungary, although there at the mercy of the Turks or of the Jesuits, not knowing where else to go. Likewise many Protestants remain in France, enduring tyranny and persecution, influenced much less by a just horror of the idolatry which they there behold and frequently have the misfortune to commit, than by the helping hand which is drawing them into such a dangerous snare.

Escape from the danger of apostacy was not the only inducement held out to the British Government. The creation of an added barrier against the encroachments of the French in Louisiana, and the possibilities of fruits, oils, wax, cotton, tobacco, rice, indigo, wines, etc., etc., were held out as the attractions in the new colony. But the principal attraction was silk—"Carolina will

undoubtedly far surpass all the countries I have just named, because it is located precisely in the degree of heat and temperature which best befits the nature of the silk worm." Purry claimed that within thirty years Great Britain would be able to supply all Europe with silk from the Carolina settlement.

Students of English colonial policies will not be surprised to find a Catholic in this distinctly Protestant project. The efforts of the persecuted Catholics for a half a century before the foundation of Maryland are evidences of the difference between the letter and the spirit of the penal laws. Miles Standish in Plymouth and Edward Maria Wingfield in Jamestown are gradually being detached from the Protestant haze that surrounds these two early settlements. The letter of Jean Batiste Bourguin to the Bishop of Basle-Porentruy is another factor in the study of what might be called the crypto-Catholicism of the Colonial period of our history. The letter follows; the translation is by Mrs. Bandelier:

Lettre de la Caroline

A Son Altesse Monseigneur L'Evêque de Bâle et Porentruy, Prince du St. Empire, etc., au Chateau de Porentrui.

Monseigneur:

Sur ce que votre Altesse voulut bien me faire connaitre lorsque j'eus l'honneur de prendre congé d'elle, au chateau de Porentruy, que je lui ferais plaisir de lui envoyer une petite relation de ce pays, aussi bien que de la manière dont je m'y trouverais, et en laquelle j'y aurais été reçu, je prends, Monseigneur, la liberté de vous assurer en toute vérité et sans exaggeration, qu'on pourait très justement dire de cette contrée ce que la reine de Sheba disait du Roi Salomon: on m'en avait déjà fait un rapport tres avantageux, mais je l'ai trouvé encore beaucoup meilleur que tout ce qu'on m'en avait dit dans mon pays; car j'ose assurer votre Altesse que c'est un pays découlant de lait et de miel, les forets y étant remplies d'abeilles qui produisent du miel en abondance. D'ailleurs on trouve presque partout un excellent fourage, sans qu'il soit necessaire de ramasser du foin pour nourir les bestiaux dans les ecuries pendant l'hyver, a cause qu'ils ont dans les bois et dans les campagnes de quoi se repaitre toute l'année.

La ville de Purysbourg que nous avons commencé de batir, sur la rivière Savannah, avec environ 160 personnes qui composent notre colonie, est un des meilleurs quartiers de la Caroline, qu'on nommait autrefois le grand Yamesee, et que les Indiens occupaient autrefois, d'où les Anglais les ont chassés, ce que n'empêche pas qu'ils ne soyent dans une profonde paix avec nous àpresent.

La rivière y est d'une très bonne eau, remplie d'excellens poissons; la plupart des herbages et des fruits que nous y avons planté y viennent à merveille. L'orge, le lin, le blé indien autrement dit de Turquie, les patates, pois, fèves et autres herbes potagères nous ont parfaitement réussi: et nous ne doutons point que le froment aussi bien que le chauvre lorsqu'on les cultivera dans une saison convenable, et que les semences seront bonnes n'y réussissent de même.

Nous avons aussi construit un fort à quatre bastions, avec de gros pieux d'arbres, et six pièces de canon, qui nous mettent en état de defense contre tous ceux qui oseraient nous venir attaquer.

Nous fûmes déjà très bien reçu en arrivant à Charlestown qui est la capitale du pays.—Les habitans nous y firent tout l'acceuil et toutes les caresses imaginables.—Mr. le Gouverneur nous fit même manger quelques uns de nous à sa table, dont je fûs du nombre; on eut soin de nous bien loger, rendant le sejour d'environ trois semaines que nous y fûmes; on nous donna des medecines pour les maladies, des vivres et toute sorte de rafraichissements.

Enfin, Monseigneur, quoique je sois très bien en ce pays avec ma petite famille, j'ose néanmoins vous assurer, mon très gracieux prince, que l'une des choses qui me ferons le plus de plaisir en ce monde, serait celle de pouvoir jouir du bonheur de voir votre Altesse encore une fois, avant de mourir et que je me souviendrai toujours avec une respectueuse reconnaissance de la bonté que votre Altesse eut, de vouloir bien conserver mon Greffe, au cas que j'eusse été constraint de retourner dans le pays. C'est ce qui m'oblige aussi d'adresser continuellement des voeux au Ciel pour la conservation de votre sacrée personne, et d'être toute ma vie avec la plus respectueuse soumission, Monseigneur, de votre Altesse le très humble et très obligeant Serviteur et encore une fois fidèle.

Signé: JEAN BATISTE BOURGUIN,
ancien Greffier de Sonceboz.

Letter from Carolina

To His Highness Monseigneur the Bishop of Basle and Porentruy, Prince of the Holy Empire, etc., etc., at the Castle of Porentrui.

Monseigneur:

According to what Your Highness has had the kindness to tell me, at the time I had the honour to take personal leave of Your Highness at the Castle of Porentruy, namely that I would give you pleasure by sending you a short report of this country as well as of the way I liked it and had been received in it, I take the liberty, Monseigneur, to assure you most truthfully and without exaggeration, that one could very justly apply to this country that which the queen of Sheba said of King Solomon: I had already received a very favourable report, but I have found it (the country) to be a great deal better than I had been told that it was, when still at home, for now I may well assure Your Highness that this is truly a country where milk and honey are overflowing; the forests are filled with bees which produce an abundance of honey. Furthermore one finds almost everywhere an abundance of fodder so that it is not necessary to make hay to feed cattle, horses, etc., within the stables during the winter months, for they find plenty of pasture in the woods and fields all the year round.

The city of Purysbourg which we have commenced to build, lies near the Savannah river and has about 160 inhabitants, which number constitutes our colony. It is one of the best parts of Carolina, formerly called the Great Yamesee and inhabited by the Indians (of that name), but from whence the English have chased them away, which, however, does not impede that at present they are at profound peace with us.

The river in this part has very good water, and is full of most excellent

fish; most of the truck and fruit which we have planted grows marvelously. Barley, flax (or hemp), Indian corn, which is also otherwise called Turkish corn, potatoes, peas, beans, and other vegetables, and we do not doubt but that wheat as well as hemp, will grow perfectly if cultivated in their proper season and provided the seeds were fresh.

We have also built a fort of four bastions, with palisades made of trunks of trees, and six pieces of cannon which will enable us to defend ourselves against all those who should attack us.

We were already very well received at Charlestown which is the capital of this part of the country. The inhabitants received us and treated us in the kindest manner imaginable. The Governor even invited several of us to eat at his own table, and I was among that number; and he saw to it that we were well housed during our stay there which lasted almost three weeks. He gave us medicines for our sick, provisions and all kinds of refreshments.

But, Monseigneur, although I feel very well satisfied in this country with my small family, I take nevertheless the liberty of assuring you, my very gracious prince, that one of the things that would give me the greatest pleasure in this world, would be that of enjoying the happiness of seeing Your highness once more before I die. I shall forever remember with respectful gratitude the kindness Your Highness has had to offer me to keep my secretariat open for me in case I should be obliged to return home. This is what makes me address my prayers continuously to heaven for the conservation of your sacred person and to allow me to remain all my life, with utmost humility, Monseigneur, the very humble and most obedient servant of Your Highness. Once more, faithfully:

[*Signed*]: JEAN BATISTE BOURGUIN,
Ancient Notary of Sonceboz.

Ecclesiastical biography has unworthily many possible volumes missing from its shelves. Among them may be mentioned the Life of Don Felix Varela, which so far exists only in the Spanish of JOSÉ IGNACIO RODRIGUEZ' *Vida del Presbitero Don Félix Varela* (New York, 1878, pp. 448). This illustrious Cuban priest, whose interesting career was spent in Havana, Philadelphia, and New York where he became Vicar-General in 1837, was one of the profound scholars of his day. The author of some forty works in Spanish and English, the founder of at least three periodicals—*El Habanero*, a political, scientific and literary magazine, seven numbers of which were published at Philadelphia and New York in 1824-25; *The Protestant Abridger and Expositor*, published at New York in 1830, and of which no copy seems to be extant today; and *The Catholic Expositor and Literary Magazine*, which he edited monthly, in company with the Rev. Charles Constantine Pise, D.D., and which ran from 1841 to 1843. The four volumes of this magazine contain many of his finest philosophical essays. A complete list of his works includes the following titles:

Propositiones variae ad Tyronum exercitationem.
Institutiones Philosophiae ecclecticae ad usum studiosae juventutis editae. Havana, 1812.
Instituciones de Filosofia ecléctica para el uso de la juventud. Havana, 1813.
Instituciones de Filosofia ecléctica para el uso de la juventud. Havana, 1814.

Examen philosophicum de correctione mentis a D. Francisco Garcia et D. Cecilio Doval sustinendum in hoc S. Caroli habanensis Seminario. Praeside D. Felice Varela. Havana, 1813.

Doctriñas de Logica Metafisica y Moral enseñada enel Real Seminario de San Cárlos de la Habana por el Presbítero D. Felix Varela, en el primer año del curso filosófico. Havana, 1816.

Discurso de igreso en la Real Sociedad Patriótica de la Habana, sobre la Influencia de la Ideologia en la marcha de la sociedad, y medios de rectificar este ramo. Havana, 1817.

Apuntes filosóficos sobre la dirección del espíritu humano, hechos por el Presbítero Don Félix Varela para que sus discípulos puedan recordar las doctrinas enseñadas acerca de esta materia. Havana, 1818.

La Miscelánea Filosófica. Havana, 1819. (Second Edition, Madrid, 1821; Third Edition, New York, 1827.)

Observaciones sobre la Constitución de la Monarquia española, escritas por el Presbítero Don Félix Varela, catedrático de Filosofía y de Constitucion, en el Seminario de San Cárlos de la Habana. Havana, 1821.

Manual de práctica parlamentaria para el uso del Senado de los Estados Unidos, por Tomás Jefferson, al cual se han agregado el Reglamento de cada Cámara, y el comun á ámbas, traducido del inglés, y anotado por Félix Varela. New York, 1826.

Elementos de Química aplicada á la agricultura por Humphrey Davy, traducidos del inglés por Félix Varela. New York, 1826.

Cartas á Elpidio sobre la impiedad, la supersticion y el fanatismo en sus relaciones con la sociedad. New York, 1835; Madrid, 1836; New York, 1838.

Rodriguez' *Vida* was an important contribution to American literature, and it is regrettable that so many years have passed without a translation of his estimable production. Better still, we should have an original *Life of Father Varela* written in English. Many of his unpublished letters and essays are to be found in the Archdiocesan Archives of New York, in the Diocesan Archives of Havana, and in the Archives of the old College of S. Carlos in that city.

Among the historical articles in current magazines and reviews are the following:

1. *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, Philadelphia, for September, 1918.
   - *An Historical Sketch of the Diocese of Harrisburg*, by Monsignor Hassett, DD., V.G.
   - *Bishop Flaget's Diary*, by Rev. W. J. Howlett.
   - *The Life of Bishop Conwell* (Chapters 30–31), by the late Martin I. J. Griffin.
   - *San Domingo Refugees in Philadelphia*, by Jane Campbell.
2. *The Catholic World*, for December, 1918.
   - *Catholic Doctrine on the Right of Self-Government*, by Rev. Dr. John Ryan.
   - *In an Old Maryland Manor*, by Margaret B. Downing.
3. *The Ecclesiastical Review*, for December, 1918.
   - *The First Missionary to the Bahama Islands*, by Rev. Henry E. O'Keeffe, C.S.P.
   - *The National Flag in Our Churches.*

4. *Le Canada Français*, for November, 1918.

La Deportation des Acadiens, by Henri d'Arles.
Un Anniversaire, l'ouverture du Petit Séminaire de Quebec, by Msgr. A. Gosselin.

5. *The Dublin Review*, for October–December, 1918.

Forgotten Passages in the Life of Cardinal Wiseman, by Shane Leslie. (Letters to members of the American hierarchy.)

6. *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, for October, 1918.

Early Catholicity in Chicago, by Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J.
The First American Born Nun, by Mother St. Charles.
Catholic Progress in Chicago, by William J. Onahan.
The Illinois Missions, by Joseph J. Thompson.
Kaskaskia—Fr. Benedict Roux, by Rev. John Rothensteiner.
Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, by Cecilia Mary Young.
Illinois and the Leopoldine Association, by Rev. Francis J. Epstein.
Illinois' First Citizen—Pierre Gibault, by Joseph J. Thompson.

7. *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, for October, 1918.

Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis, by Rev. J. Rothensteiner.
The Historical Archives of St. Louis, by Rev. F. G. Holweck.
The Centenary of the Foundation of the St. Louis Diocesan Seminary, by Rev. M. J. O'Malley, C.M.

8. *The Hispanic-American Historical Review*, for August, 1918.

Recognition of the Hispanic-American Nations by the United States, by W. S. Robinson.
Spanish Correspondence concerning the American Revolution, by J. A. Robertson.

9. *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, for September, 1918.

The Literary Spirit among the Early Ohio Valley Settlers, by Logan Esarey.

10. *Historical Records and Studies* (U. S. Cath. Hist. Society), for June, 1918.

The Church in the Island of San Domingo, by Rev. Peter Condon, A.M.
Francis Cooper: New York's First Catholic Legislator, by William H. Bennett.
Catholics in the War with Mexico, by Thomas F. Meehan.
Destruction of the Charlestown Convent. Statement by the Leader of the Mob.
Pierre Toussaint, a Catholic Uncle Tom, by Henry Binsse.
The Church of Saint Vincent De Paul (The French Church), New York, by Henry Binsse.
Our Diplomatic Relations with the Holy See.

11. *The American Catholic Quarterly Review*, for July, 1918.

States of our Union Settled by Catholics, by Marc. F. Vallette.
A Century of Catholic Education, by Anna C. Minogue.
A Summer Tour of Southern California, by William S. Long.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE "CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA" DIOCESAN BIBLIOGRAPHY

There exists no complete bibliography of the Catholic Church in the United States. The only work published thus far that approaches the problem is Finotti's *Bibliographia Catholica Americana*. Finotti's work, however, is not a technical one. It is a list of books written and published by Catholic authors in the United States, and it covers only the years 1789 to 1820. What is needed is a volume similar to that published by Professors Channing, Hart, and Turner: *Guide to the Study of American History*. They selected from the immense mass of rich material on American History all that was likely to be most immediately useful to the searcher in political, social, constitutional, and economic American history. A *Bibliography of American Catholic History* is the work of a lifetime. It can hardly be done by any one scholar or student. Help must be asked from the thousands of American Catholics who are interested in such a study; and help must come especially from the clergy.

It is only after long deliberation that a plan has been decided upon for launching this much-needed work. We begin by publishing the bibliographies to be found at the end of all the articles in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* which treat of the Dioceses and Archdioceses of the United States. Parts I and II of this bibliograph were published in the July and October (1918) issues of the REVIEW. Copies of these pages will then be sent to all who are known to be students of American Church history, with the request that books be added. From time to time these completed lists will be reprinted in the REVIEW, and all those who assist in the work will be given credit for the same. For the present, the usual divisions of *Sources* and *Books* must be abandoned, and the final classification will be postponed until it is concluded that the lists as published are as exhaustive as possible. The scheme to be followed will be chronological, that is, the fourteen Provinces will be taken up in the order of their erection and under each Province or Archdiocese the Suffragan Bishoprics as they are at present will be placed again in the order of their erection. Through the courtesy of the Editors of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* we are permitted to use their volumes for these purposes.

PART III

X. PROVINCE OF MILWAUKEE (1843–1875)[11]

1. Milwaukee (1843).

The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory (Baltimore); WILTZIUS, *Catholic Directory* (Milwaukee); *The Catholic Church in Wisconsin* (Milwaukee, 1895); *Memoirs of Milwaukee County* (Madison, 1909); MARTY, *Johann Martin Henni, erster Bischof und Erzbischof von Milwaukee* (New York, 1888); RAINER, *A Noble Priest, Joseph Salzmann, Founder of the Salesianum*, tr. from the German by BERG (Milwaukee, 1903); ABBELEN, *Die Ehrwuerdige Mutter Caroline Fries* (St. Louis, 1892).

[11] Erected as Diocese in 1843 and as Archdiocese in 1875.

2. Marquette (1853–1857–1865).[23]

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3. Green Bay (1868)

Catholic Directory (Milwaukee, 1909); *Catholic Home Almanac* (New York, 1892); REUSS, *Biog. Encycl. Cath. Hierarchy U. S.* (Milwaukee, 1898); *Catholic Citizen* (Milwaukee), files.

4. La Crosse (1868).

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5. Superior (1905).

Official Catholic Directory, 1905–11; *The Catholic Church in Superior, Wisconsin* (Superior, 1905).

XI. PROVINCE OF SANTA FE (1850–1875)[24]

1. Santa Fe (1850).

SALPOINTE, *Soldiers of the Cross* (Banning, 1898); DEPOURI, *Historical Sketch of the Catholic Church in New Mexico* (San Francisco, 1887); ENGELHARDT, *The Franciscans in Arizona* (Harbor Springs, 1899).

2. Denver (1868–1887).[25]

HOWLETT, *Life of Bishop Machebeuf* (Denver, 1908); REUSS, *Biog. Cycl. of the Cath. Hierarchy of the U. S.* (Milwaukee, 1898).

3. Tucson (1868).

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4. El Paso (1914).

None given.

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[23] Erected as Vicariate in 1853, as Diocese of Sault Sainte Marie in 1857, and as Diocese of Marquette in 1865.

[24] Erected as Vicariate of New Mexico in 1850, as Diocese of Santa Fe in 1853, and as Archdiocese in 1875.

[25] Erected as the Vicariate of Colorado and Utah in 1868 and as the Diocese of Denver in 1887.

XII. PROVINCE OF CHICAGO (1843–1880)[26]

1. Chicago (1843).

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2. Alton (1853–1857).[27]

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XIII. PROVINCE OF ST. PAUL (1850–1888)[28]

1. St. Paul (1850).

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2. St. Cloud (1875–1889).[29]

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3. Sioux Falls (1879–1889).[30]

Diocesan Archives; Catholic Directories.

4. Fargo (1889–1897).[31]

Diocesan records; *Catholic Directory*, 1909; REUSS, *Biog. Encycl. Cath. Hierarchy U. S.* (Milwaukee, 1898).

5. Winona (1889).

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[26] Erected as Diocese in 1843 and as Archdiocese in 1880.
[27] Erected as Diocese of Quincy in 1853 and was transferred to Alton in 1857.
[28] Erected as Diocese in 1850 and as Archdiocese in 1888.
[29] Erected as Vicariate of Northern Minnesota in 1875, and as Diocese of St. Cloud in 1889.
[30] Erected as Vicariate of Dakota in 1879 and as Diocese of Sioux Falls in 1889.
[31] Erected as Diocese of Jamestown in 1889 and transferred to Fargo in 1897.

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6. Duluth (1889).

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9. Crookston (1909).

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XIV. PROVINCE OF DUBUQUE (1837–1893)[32]

1. Dubuque (1837).

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2. Omaha (1857-1885).[33]

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[32] Erected as Diocese of Dubuque in 1837 and as Archbishoprie in 1893.

[33] Erected as a Vicariate in 1857 and as a Diocese in 1885.

4. Lincoln (1887).

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5. Cheyenne (1887).

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6. Sioux City (1902).

None given.

7. Des Moines (1911).

None given.

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None given.

XV. RUTHENIAN-GREEK CATHOLIC DIOCESE (1907–1913)

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[34] Erected as Diocese of Kearney in 1912 and transferred to Grand Island in 1917.

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NOTE

The Index to Volume IV will be published separately and will be sent out to subscribers with the April, 1919, number.